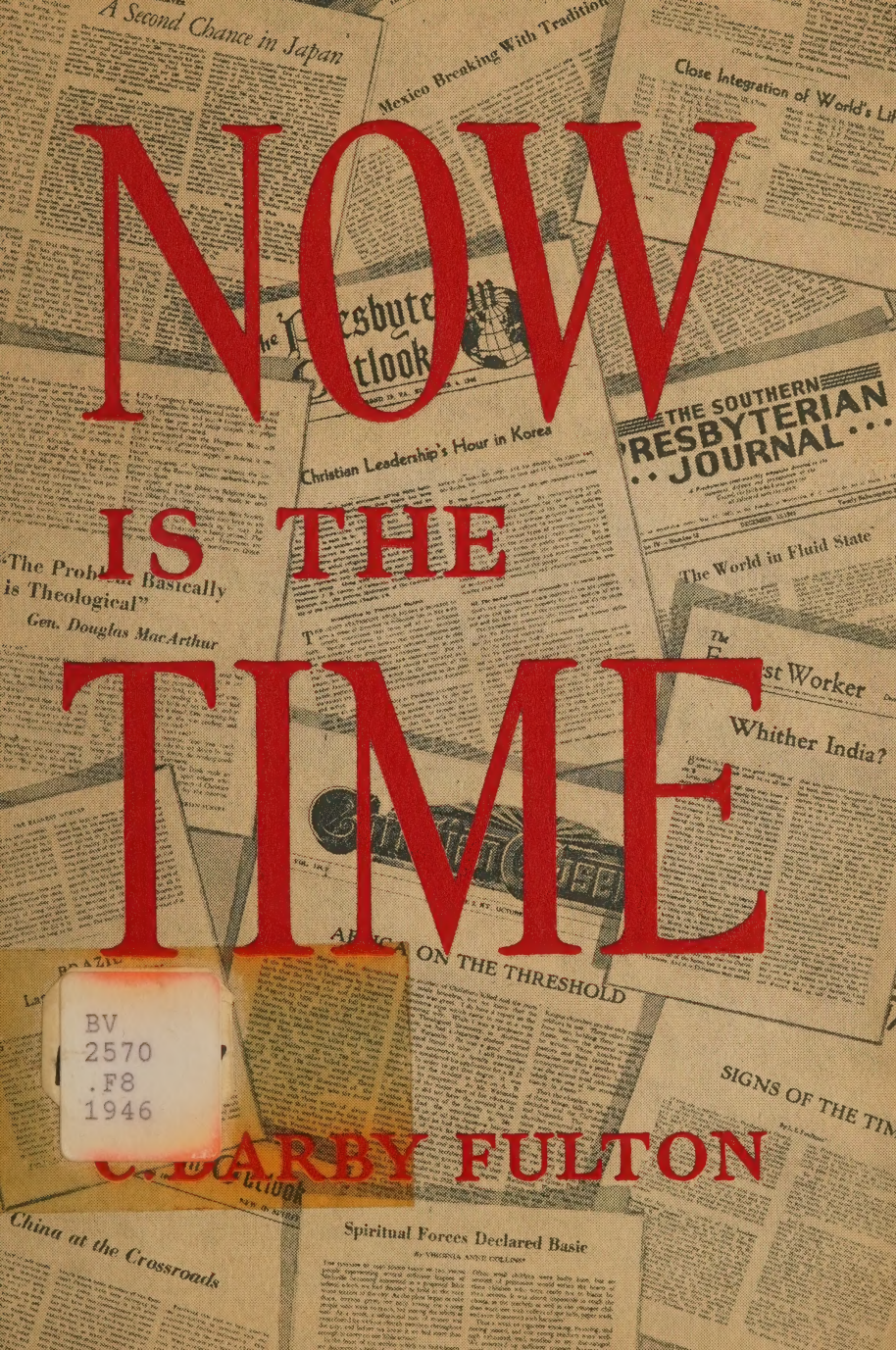


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BY

C. DARBY FULTON

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.

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*Chapter I*

# SIGNS OF THE TIME

THAT was a great day in December, 1861, when, harassed on every side and amid the confusion of war, our Church announced to all the world the supreme mission to which she dedicated her life. In a memorable declaration, our first Assembly issued the following manifesto:

> "The General Assembly desires distinctly and deliberately to inscribe on our church's banner as she now first unfurls it to the world, in immediate connection with the Headship of her Lord, His last command: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature'; regarding this as the great end of her organization, and obedience to it as the indispensable condition of her Lord's promised presence."

The dramatic significance of that declaration can be fully recognized only when we reconstruct for ourselves the circumstances under which it was delivered. On every side trains were rushing soldiers to the Virginia battle front. In every home parents and sisters were bidding tearful farewells to sons and brothers. Each paper was anxiously scanned for lists of the dead and wounded and missing. Thus every circumstance conspired to focus the Assembly's eyes on the appalling crisis in its own national, local, and personal interests. Despite these conditions, the most conspicuous quality of that historic meeting was the dominating sense of world mission that pervaded all the sessions. By the very language of this declaration the Assembly recognized the missionary task as the unrivaled concern of the Christian Church, the "one thing I do" to which she would devote her life.

This was no paper declaration. How profoundly it has influenced the life of the Church can be seen in the place that has been given to missions in the Church's program through the decades and in the investment of her life and her money in the task. Hardly had the echoes of war died away when, in 1867, our first missionaries began their work in China. The South had been bled white. Her farms had been devastated, her proud cities burned, and the flower of her manhood slain on the field of battle. Yet, with the overwhelming task of reconstruction calling for every resource at her command, the Church reaffirmed her declaration of 1861 and set herself to the prosecution of her world task. Fires of missionary fervor began to blaze brightly throughout the Church. Missionary societies sprang up everywhere; young men and women offered themselves for service in distant lands; contributions for missions steadily increased; and in ever-swelling numbers ambassadors of Christ left home and fireside to witness to people far away. The work spread into four continents. Before all the world we accepted responsibility for the evangelization of 36,000,000 people across the sea. Foreign Missions became the glory of our Church. Other communions honored us for our testimony and found courage for a larger work of their own, and He who loved the world and gave Himself for its salvation blessed us with His own presence and fellowship even as He had promised.

We cannot thus review the story of that stalwart generation without borrowing strength and courage for our own task. For once again war has been upon us, and the scars that we bear are still red and tender. As heirs of that great declaration that our spiritual forefathers bequeathed to us, it is as though we had inherited also the circumstances under which it was given. Once more our boys have been marching, heavy armies have been on the move, our horizons have reverberated to the distant cannonading and anxious eyes have studied the casualty lists with mingled hope and dread. The arduous task of reconstruction is again upon us.

Through all the war years the Church has held to the hope that the end of the conflict would usher in a new day of missionary chal-

lenge and opportunity. For scores of missionaries, driven by the war from their fields of work, the termination of hostilities offered the promise of return to their labors across the sea. For many young people whose missionary training had been interrupted by the call to the armed services, the coming of peace presented the prospect of an early resumption of their preparation for missions and the inauguration of their life work. For missionaries on the field, the end of the war seemed to be the harbinger of many good things—furloughs long deferred could now be taken; reinforcements, eagerly and patiently awaited, would be arriving; the lurking dangers of mines and submarines would be gone; travel would be possible without the hazards and delays of war; plans for expansion, held in abeyance or retarded by war's interruptions, could soon be undertaken with vigor and enthusiasm; and the frightful era of totalitarian oppression would be followed by a new epoch of liberty and peace.

To be sure, not all of these hopes are to meet with immediate realization. The war, regardless of the official date of its termination, cannot be written off as one would erase a legend from a slate. The world does not spring to complete convalescence in one day from its bed of dire illness and despair. Nevertheless, in these few months since the war came to a close, the conditions that surround the missionary enterprise have already begun to improve and the long-awaited inauguration of a vigorous missionary advance is definitely under way.

There are significant signs in the present-day environment of missions which carry deep import for the enterprise. Some are fraught with implications of grave danger, others of untold opportunity; but whether of danger or of opportunity, the meaning for Christian missions is inescapable.

### The Resources of the Church

The Church of today is endowed with vastly greater resources for the fulfillment of her world mission. Neither in men nor in money have we suffered the impoverishment that encumbered our Church at her birth. Despite the war, our people have grown rich. We are

probably in possession of greater wealth than ever before in our history. Similarly, while we are still conscious of a shortage of men for our pulpits and mission fields, the situation is not to be compared with the drastic depletion of manpower in the Church of the great declaration. If in our spiritual resources of prayer and faith and vision and sacrifice we could match the material powers that are ours today, the impact of our testimony would be felt around the world.

### The Closer Integration of World Life

It is said that no point on earth is today more than sixty hours distant from any other point. A report has it that one day a young Army pilot of the Memphis Ferry Command called his girl by telephone and asked her for a date for the following Tuesday evening. On second thought he added, "Wait a minute. Make that Friday night, won't you? I forgot I had to go to India this week." Recently, it was told that a woman had slammed a door in Chicago and had annoyed another woman in Montreal! "A man's heartbeat has been broadcast from Lisbon to London and prescribed for by a surgeon there." Yesterday's world of vast distances and strange, faraway people has certainly become a neighborhood.[1]

There is a new intimacy with geography. The daily news dispatches have placed a magnifying glass over one area of the world after another. Vast stretches of the earth's surface have come under the close scrutiny of the people. Towns, cities, mountains, islands, lakes, and deserts, all but unknown until now, have become familiar in every household. The mission fields of the world have been particularly in the limelight: Africa, as a chief theater of American military operations; Brazil, as the largest of the Latin countries included in the Good Neighbor Policy; Mexico, as our ally in the recent conflict; the South Pacific Islands, as the steppingstones on the long road to Tokyo; the Far East, as the area where the crescendo of the war reached its final, dramatic climax.

But the new integration of world life is not just geographical. It is characterized by a new community of ideas. The radio is provid-

ing a common body of fact and information. Never before have there been so many millions of people simultaneously hearing the same news and thinking the same thoughts. The facilities are here for the regimentation of world opinion and world life to a degree wholly without precedent in history. The United Nations organization, dogged though it is by misunderstandings and jealousies, is valiantly seeking to give tangible expression to this sense of oneness.

Now it has been generally supposed that the new compactness of world life would work for unity and peace—that as barriers of time and distance and custom and tradition are broken down, the brotherhood of man would emerge as the glorious result. One wonders if we have any real basis for such a hope. Richmond and Washington are only ninety-six miles apart, yet one of the bloodiest wars in all history was fought between governments that had their headquarters at these two cities. President Hutchins of the University of Chicago gave us something to think about when he wrote in *Fortune:*

> "Since the divisions among men are not those of space and time, they are not eliminated by the elimination of space and time. If the ideals of one part of the world are antithetical to those of another part, war must follow. The shrinkage of the world, therefore, cannot usher in the brotherhood of man; it can only accelerate the clash of antithetical ideals."

Basically spiritual problems cannot be expected to yield to purely mechanical solutions. To effect in the world a functional and organizational integration that has no basis of moral or spiritual unity is to court disaster. The appurtenances of internationalism may be vastly improved and the contacts between the nations greatly multiplied, but how, except through the Christian Gospel, can we contribute the elements of moral and spiritual control without which contacts are likely to develop into encounters rather than friendships?

### The Peril of Material Power Without God

Never were the refinements of civilization developed to such a degree as now. Man is in possession of powers of which former gen-

erations little dreamed. The fantastic developments of science leave us agape. Airplanes have been produced that can fly at 600 miles an hour on level flight. With the perfecting of jet-propulsion, it is not unlikely that planes will soon be traveling faster than sound, arriving at any given destination ahead of the noise that they make in flight. Electrical and mechanical devices perform the routine operations of life for us. This is an age of cigarette lighters, exposure meters, electric razors, lie detectors, and zippers.

But in the midst of our boastings we are suddenly beset by new fears. The terrifying power of the material instruments that were used in the war, culminating in the atomic bomb, has had a sobering effect on the thoughts of men. For the first time many have seen the utter peril of material power without God. They now know that the amazing scientific and technological achievements of the war period are merely the instruments of man's annihilation unless they are accompanied by proper motivation and spiritual control. After all, an airplane possesses no moral quality of its own. It may be a messenger of mercy, carrying quick relief to men in suffering and distress; or it may be an agent of destruction raining death from the skies on innocent women and children. Everything depends on the heart and the hand at the controls. Like the scientist in that hideous picture "Frankenstein," the world stands before the product of her own cunning and, ere the first flush of achievement is past, is seized with sudden terror lest the creature of her own hand turn upon her and destroy her. Can civilization control the forces she has created? No more vital task confronts the Church today than to supply throughout the whole world the spiritual motives, principles, incentives, aims, and beliefs that must safeguard the life of men.

It was Dr. Stanley Jones who gave us a striking illustration of this point. The Yellow River has been China's scourge as well as her benefactor. Periodically overflowing its banks, it has spread death and desolation in its path. A few years ago a large sum of money was appropriated and a noted engineer engaged to repair the dikes at a point where damage had been especially frequent and severe. At

last the work was done, and in the freshets of the ensuing season thousands of people lived with a sense of security behind the barrier that had been erected. Then suddenly, without warning, the dike collapsed and the waters that broke through the breach took a ghastly toll of life and property. There was an investigation, and it was discovered that sand had been substituted for the tons upon tons of concrete called for in the specifications. What was it that stood between those trusting people and the mad waters of the Yellow River? Was it a dike? No, it was the character of a man. That had failed, and all the arts of modern engineering could not retrieve that one fault.

### A New Recognition That Spiritual Forces Are Basic in Life

One of the good things that has come out of the war is a keener discernment of the relative value of things. The exigencies of the conflict forced us to re-think our priorities. Every activity, public and private, came under fresh scrutiny in the light of the war effort, and the affairs of life were examined and assessed with one thing in view—to bring the war to a successful and victorious conclusion.

Of all the discoveries that have come out of this crisis, probably the most significant, and from the standpoint of the Church the most encouraging, is the growing recognition that moral and spiritual principles are the true governing factors of life—that men and nations act as they think and believe. This is not the pious pleading of a preacher. It is the sober testimony of scores of practical-minded men—political leaders, commentators, statesmen, and military men—who are reiterating this conviction in every issue of our daily papers. They are telling us that war and tyranny have their roots in something deeper down; that false beliefs and false gods are behind the ruthlessness that manifests itself in the world. General MacArthur, in a widely quoted statement, actually declared that the problem was basically "theological."

Our wisest leaders are reminding us that our most subtle enemies are not material or tangible, but spiritual. They tell us that the biggest

army in the world cannot of itself guarantee success. After all, you cannot hit an idea with a shell. The largest air force ever assembled is powerless to stay the flight of the unseen messengers of godlessness and infamy that would despoil the life of men.

It is worthy of note that Hitler did not waste one round of ammunition in annexing the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia, nor did he fire one shot in effecting "anschluss" with Austria. He had a more subtle method. He propounded his false philosophy. He sowed his tares in the field while the landowner slept, and waited for the spurious seed to yield its mischievous fruit.

Never before was it so clear, or so widely recognized, that spiritual forces dominate life. We can never have justice and peace until God is exalted on the throne that Caesar would usurp. This was the conviction tersely expressed by a Presbyterian elder of Lenoir, North Carolina, when he said, "I have far more confidence in what our Foreign Missions will accomplish for a lasting peace than I have in all the man-made plans which leave God out."

### The Eclipse of Isolationism

Japan's sudden attack on the United States in December, 1941, had a profound effect on those who held the position of political isolationism. Many discovered and admitted for the first time that, however much we might desire to hold ourselves aloof from the affairs of other nations, the pattern of world life was so intertwined that it was no longer possible for any country to live unto itself. Indeed, in the drastic fate that overtook one after another of the smaller nations, we saw all too clearly how, contrary to their every intent and desire, the peoples of the world were caught in the tangled web of international events. The wholehearted participation of the United States in the United Nations organization, as contrasted with the aloofness of our country toward the League of Nations after the First World War, bears eloquent testimony to the change of attitude that has come over our people.

Spiritual isolationism, too, is on the wane. It has been a long time since we have heard anyone rise up to object that we have heathen enough in America without concerning ourselves about those in Africa or China. The stock complaints about Foreign Missions which were commonly heard a decade ago have virtually passed out of vogue. It was never as easy to "sell" Foreign Missions as it is now. It is the all but unanimous testimony of our missionaries that they have never known the spirit of missionary concern and inquiry to be as earnest as it is in the Church today; and not in the Church only, but among the public generally. For the first time, mission boards have waiting lists of churches that are standing in line, so to speak, seeking to share in the support of a missionary of their own.

To be sure, we have had spiritual isolationists in the Church. When a missionary to Japan came back to the United States on his furlough, some of his well-meaning friends were wont to say, "Why do you want to go back to Japan? Those people have their own religions. They are good enough for them. Why not leave them alone?"

If Pearl Harbor taught us anything, it was that we could no longer remain indifferent to what Japan thinks and believes. We discovered that the question is not simply, "Are their religions good enough for them?" We found that we must ask, "Are their religions *safe* for *us*?" Many people are now admitting that the spiritual isolationism that had prejudiced their attitude toward Foreign Missions is untenable. What they have been unwilling to accept heretofore on the authority of Christ, they have been forced to concede through the unmistakable lessons of experience. Wherever the responsibility may ultimately be placed for the tragedy of Pearl Harbor, the real blame must be lodged at the feet of the people of the Church who, when Japan was signally open to the Gospel fifty years ago, wrapped themselves smugly in the cloak of spiritual isolation and refused to answer the call of obligation and opportunity.

This may not be a worthy, much less a spiritual, apology for missions, but it shows us where we come out even when we consider the matter from the point of view of practical self-interest.

None of this is to imply that missions derives its sanction from the recognition of men. Let us keep the enterprise on a high plane. It is enough that it has the authority and approval of the Head of the Church. Nevertheless, it is an encouragement of these days that Christians are showing a new sensitiveness to their world missionary responsibility.

### The War Has Afforded a Firsthand Examination of Missions

One of the great frustrations of the foreign missionary is that he can never show his work to the Church at home. He does his best through articles and addresses to bring a picture of the task, but there is always the feeling that the home Church does not fully see, nor feel, nor understand.

The war brought a sudden and unexpected opportunity for an observation of missions on a mass scale by the men of our fighting forces. It was as though vast tours had been organized in the mission lands, affording for the first time an intimate glimpse of the methods, needs, and results of the Christian enterprise around the world. In Asia and Africa and in the Islands of the Sea men were brought face to face with the fact and the fruit of Christian missions. And the testimony that came back to this country from the men overseas is a remarkable one. The visible, tangible results of Christian work around the world made their impression. Soldiers who were befriended by natives of the South Pacific were impressed by the elements of intelligence, character, kindliness, dependability, and faith displayed by these who have been under the power and influence of the Christian Gospel.

But let the boys speak for themselves:

A soldier wrote to his mother:

"Dear Mom: Because of missions, I was feasted and not feasted upon when I fell from the sky into this village."

A captain sent back this word:

"We may not have wanted to come to India, but it has meant that many thousands of men who would have cherished throughout their lives an entirely wrong conception of missionary work have been able to see that Christian work at firsthand . . . We have met true and living Christianity here. To see these things is a great revelation that none of us will ever forget."

A minister in Milwaukee received the following advice from one of his members, a soldier in India:

"The next time you have a missionary at the church who has spent time in India, give him a good build-up. The work they are doing is wonderful. I got into a clan of them at one of my stations and really had my eyes opened, both at the religious work they do and the splendid attention they are giving to medical and educational advancement."

Dr. Hugh Thompson Kerr, pastor of the Shady Side Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, published this testimony, sent by a Navy man to his pastor in Ohio:

"Our missionary service is one to be proud of. I wish some of our skeptical people back home, who frown every time money is collected for the missionary service, could see what their filthy lucre has done for these natives."

To Dr. Dan T. Caldwell, Director of the Defense Service Council of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., we are indebted for the following notice which was found posted in an American army mess hall:

"American soldiers are requested to be a little more careful in their choice of language, especially when natives are assisting them in unloading ships, trucks, and in erecting abodes. American missionaries spent many years among us and taught us the use of clean speech. Every day, however, American soldiers use bad words, and the good work your missionaries did in our midst is being undermined by your careless profanity."

This notice, it is said, was signed by the chief of a Polynesian tribe on Guadalcanal.

An issue of *Christianity and Crisis* carried this comment by a Chaplain in the South Pacific:

> "In our midweek Prayer Meeting and discussion groups I asked our sailors whether this duty overseas had awakened Foreign Mission interest in the men. Everyone present agreed that it had. Two of the men went even further: They had begun seriously to consider offering themselves as missionaries when the war is over."[2]

An army nurse wrote from Leopoldville, Africa:

> "Don't worry about how your missionary money is used. The work done with it is first-class."[3]

Another tribute to work in the Congo came from an officer:

> "When at home they used to ask in my church for an offering for missions, I usually searched in my pocket for the smallest coin I could find, but never again will that be the case. I shall tell them what I have seen here."[4]

Private Sam Graham, a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Birmingham, Alabama, who lost his life in February, 1944, on Goodenough Island in the Southwest Pacific, wrote his impressions of missionary work to friends at home in the following terms:

> "I must confess that until I left the lights and thrills of civilization for the first time over a year ago and arrived at the furthermost settlement of white civilization in Australia, I had a few mental reservations as to the value and usefulness of Foreign Missions . . . From my day of arrival I have had all my doubts and question marks as to their value and importance to the world, as well as to the natives themselves, erased . . . Certainly I have been very much mistaken in underestimating the importance of the self-sacrificing lives of our own and other missionaries . . .

The mission boys, those educated in the missions, differ so greatly from the rest of the natives, that I can pick them out of any group . . . At my station over twelve months ago, many of the natives of a near-by native regiment joined us at church on Sundays. Their knowledge and viewpoints on the Bible and Christianity were a revelation to me . . . The gardening and other practical skills they have learned from missionaries have helped provide additional foods for their unchanging diet, and improve their lives generally. The difference in the cleanliness of person, clothing, and habitation between those of mission influence and the others is very marked indeed."

A Baptist Chaplain sent us this word of encouragement from Korea:

"I am a Southern Baptist on duty here with the occupation troops in Korea. I have had such pleasant associations with and such admiration for your mission work in Korea that I felt compelled to write you.

"I have been over most of Southern Korea (Presbyterian U. S. and U. S. A. allocated to Southern Korea) and everywhere I go I see marvelous results of your work here. The Chaplains as well as all the troops were amazed to see Christianity so well developed here. In fact, it seems to be already indigenous. The Japanese suppressed Christianity but it is still the most active, vital, and I believe the most numerous religion here. . . . . .

"I believe Christianity is beginning its greatest period of progress in Korea now. They all seem willing and anxious to hear the Gospel and to learn more about Christianity."

To these testimonies from the men in uniform, we should add also the tribute of the late Mr. Wendell Willkie. Returning to the United States after his memorable trip around the world, he remarked that the outstanding impression that he had brought back with him was of the great reservoir of good will that is the possession of our country. In explaining the factors that contributed to this good will, he placed

high in the list the work that had been done by Christian missionaries in far places across the world.

And the following significant word was spoken by the late President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to his press conference:

> "I must make a confession: I did not realize until the last few years how much influence America has in the world. I did not really, deep down in my heart, believe very much in church missions in other lands. Today I do. I have seen what the American church missions have accomplished in many countries, not only on the religious side but on the side of health and of education."[5]

Multiply these testimonies by thousands of similar tributes that have been spoken by men who have seen the redemptive power of Christ at work among the peoples of the world, rich and poor, old and young, civilized and savage, and there is here the augury of a new day when Foreign Missions will find a vast host of protagonists who can say to the people of the churches of America, "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you."

## The Rising Threat to Religious Liberty

We have been wont to regard religious liberty as the permanent acquisition of civilization. That this basic human right, won at such precious cost by our forefathers, should ever again become insecure has for most of us been unthinkable. We have come to feel that religious oppression belongs to an age that has long since been outmoded in the world's march of progress.

Our complacency in these matters has been rudely shocked by recent developments around the world. Discerning observers are warning us that the Christian Church may have to begin all over again the struggle for the right to be free in conscience and faith. Some of us may be inclined to dismiss such statements as figments of an overwrought imagination, but to witness what has happened

in the past few years in countries like Russia, Germany, Japan, Mexico, Korea, Ethiopia, and certain countries of Latin America, is to apprehend that there is considerable basis in reality for the prophecies of difficulty that have been made.

Nor can we assume that this problem will solve itself automatically, now that the world conflict has come to an end. One thing that governments have learned during this crisis is the potency of "ideological warfare." It is likely that in the future we shall see an increase rather than a lessening of official interest in religions and what they believe and teach. More than ever before governments are devoting attention to "cultural relationships," and such policies may include a closer supervision of missionary efforts in many of the countries of the world.

But it is not merely political authoritarianism that we need fear. Indeed, there is a religious authoritarianism that is as unfriendly to the interests of religious liberty as any form of state control could be. In the opinion of many, the chief threat to religious liberty comes today not from the quarter of political government but rather from the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Catholic agitation against Protestant Missions in Latin America has been brought into the open by the communication which the Archbishop of Bello Horizonte, Brazil, addressed to the American Ambassador at Rio de Janeiro on January 30, 1942. The essential message of that letter is contained in two paragraphs:

> "Brazil, profoundly Catholic, has its glorious traditions moulded in the life and activities of the Catholic Church, as the most excellent and most worthy President, Dr. Getulio Vargas, had occasion to reaffirm in his address to the Brazilian Episcopacy, at Itamarati on the 17th of July, 1939. In our Brazilian environment, therefore, the Protestant propaganda developed by North American missionaries is a motive which arouses antipathy and resentment against the United States of America.

"It is of incalculable advantage that His Excellency Mr. Sumner Welles be made aware of this situation in order to take the necessary steps of precaution along with His Excellency the President of the United States of America."

The Catholic press in the United States took up the issue, and, through such periodicals as *The Catholic Digest, Extension Magazine,* and *America,* began an active campaign designed to set the public mind against the idea of Protestant Missions in Latin America. This propaganda consisted largely of articles written by two so-called "eminent Protestants," John Erskine and John W. White.

On November 14, 1942, the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops in the United States issued a manifesto entitled "Victory and Peace" from which we quote the following paragraphs:

"We send our cordial greetings to our brother Bishops of Latin America. We have been consoled by recent events, which give a sincere promise of a better understanding by our country of the peoples of Mexico, Central and South America.

"Citizens of these countries are bound to us by the closest bonds of religion. They are not merely our neighbors; they are our brothers professing the same faith. Every effort made to rob them of their Catholic religion or to ridicule it or to offer them a substitute for it is deeply resented by the peoples of these countries and by American Catholics. These efforts prove to be a disturbing factor in our international relations.

"The traditions, the spirit, the background, the culture of these countries are Catholic. We Bishops are anxious to foster every worthy movement which will strengthen our amicable relations with the republics of this continent.

"We express the hope that the mistakes of the past which were offensive to the dignity of our Southern brothers, their culture and their religion will not continue. A strong bond uniting in true friendship all the countries of the Western Hemisphere

will exercise a most potent influence on a shattered postwar world."

Thus the Roman Catholic Church has openly entered the field in an aggressive effort to deprive the Protestant Churches of their right to propagate their faith in the world.

*1. The Source*

Notice the source of this agitation. It does not come from the people of Latin America, nor from the governments, but from the Catholic hierarchy. The Latin American governments stand for religious liberty. Even in countries where the Roman Church is the state Church, freedom of other religious orders to exist and to propagate themselves is recognized.

During the war, regulations in certain Latin countries restricted the entrance of North Americans, and some people professed to see in this a gesture against Protestantism. But these measures applied to Catholics as well as to Protestants. The Latin nations very wisely took steps to safeguard themselves against the infiltration of agents of totalitarianism. Priest and Presbyterian alike were required to prove their good faith, and there is no ground for supposing that these rules were directed more at one than at the other.

Such equality of opportunity, the hierarchy would now deny. At a time when the nations of North and South America have been uniting for the defense of the fundamental freedoms of democracy, it is deplorable that leaders of Catholicism should be so far out of step as to propose this abandoning of the principle of religious liberty, one of the very pillars of democracy for which men of both Americas were giving their lives.

*2. Is Latin America Catholic?*

The claim that Latin America is Catholic needs considerable qualification. Take Brazil, for example, where the Presbyterian Church, U. S., has its biggest Latin American work. No doubt the Catholics

do represent the largest religious group, especially if their custom is accepted of counting all those who by family or tradition are related to that Church. But a realistic view of the religious situation in Brazil recognizes that there are thousands whose connection with the Roman Church is purely nominal. An estimated 10,000,000 of Brazil's population are followers of spiritualism; and other thousands are showing themselves responsive to various new religious sects and philosophies. The Protestant community, too, is increasing rapidly. Indeed, it is the realization by the Catholic Church that its hold on the people is slipping, and its recognition of the recent growth and virility of the Protestant movement, that have prompted the hierarchy to launch its bitter campaign.

*3. Minorities Have Rights*

There are 2,000,000 Protestants in South America. The fact that they constitute a minority in the population should not deprive them of their rights. Democracy is the rule of the majority, but the glory of it is that it is sensitive to and protects the rights of the minority. Religion is an individual matter, and the Protestant has the same right to hold his convictions and propagate them that the Catholic has.

*4. Truth Reflects on Nothing but Error*

The propagation of Protestantism in Latin America in no way reflects on Latin Americans. As well might one claim that a man who bears testimony to his own religious faith is reflecting on all others who hold a different religious conviction. Religion is free—a matter of individual choice; at least it is so under the Protestant conception and under democracy. If the Catholic hierarchy objects to Protestants' holding and promoting their view of Christianity in Latin America, it can mean only that the Catholic Church is unwilling for the people to enjoy freedom of choice in their own religious life. If the comparison of Protestantism with Catholicism in Latin America proves embarrassing to the Catholic Church, the remedy is not in enforcing a gag rule, but in serious self-examination.

*5. The Right of Belief and Testimony Is Elemental*

The Protestant Church is not primarily interested in making Protestants out of Catholics. It is interested in presenting what it regards as a true and faithful interpretation of Christianity to all people. It accords the same right to any other sect. It is quite willing for every man to be the arbiter of his own religious faith and adherence. It does not feel that the Catholic Church has given Latin America a faithful and adequate view of what Christianity is. Whether it is justified in this feeling, every man must judge for himself on the basis of the facts. But whether one regards the Catholic interpretation of Christianity in Latin America as sufficient or not, does not alter the point. Protestants stand on the right which they fully accord to every other man, namely, the right to believe with full liberty of choice and to give testimony to that belief to any man who wants to hear.

*6. Is Religious Freedom Only for the Majority?*

If the Catholics are right in insisting that Protestant Missions should cease in Latin America on the ground that Protestants are in the minority in those countries, then, on the same principle, Catholic propaganda should be excluded from the United States. This country is mainly Protestant. But because of religious liberty, of which the Protestant Church has been the champion, Catholics in the United States enjoy full freedom of faith and propagation. This they would now deny to Protestants in lands where the conditions are reversed. The Catholic slogan seems to be: Religious freedom in lands where they are in the minority; religious monopoly in lands where they are in the majority.

*7. A Prejudiced Inconsistency*

The impudence of the Catholic position would be laughable if it were not so brazen. It professes grave concern lest Protestant Missions in Latin America should offend a predominantly Catholic people, but does not hesitate in this great Protestant country to set up its

churches and schools, to enjoy full freedom of propagation, to affirm that there is no salvation outside of "The Church," and to question the spiritual validity of marriages performed by Protestant clergymen.

*8. The Menace of Religious Totalitarianism*

The seriousness of the Catholic insinuations lies in the fact that they reveal the totalitarian position that Church has espoused through the years. In every land where it has had sufficient power, it has sought to control the entire life of the people—religion, politics, economics, social relations, literature, education. Against just such ecclesiastical despotism the government of Mexico (and other Latin countries) has been constrained to protest. This explains the anomalous situations that have developed in certain lands where a predominantly Catholic people and government have had to take drastic measures to free themselves from the despotic control of their own Church. That the hierarchy should be guilty of fostering such ecclesiastical monopolism constitutes an affront to those nations and people that have been fighting for the preservation of the essential democratic liberties—especially religious liberty. What will it have profited us in our fight against the totalitarian way if we succeed merely in exchanging the totalitarian state for a totalitarian church?

*9. Sabotaging Democracy for Sectarian Advantage*

In the highly delicate situation that faces us in the world, calling for the utmost of unity among the freedom-loving people of this hemisphere, the Catholic hierarchy has indeed taken upon itself a grave responsibility in thus introducing the devisive elements of sectarianism, bigotry, and religious intolerance. Lovers of democracy everywhere will be shocked at this open effort to gain ecclesiastical advantage at the expense of the very principles for which free men have been fighting around the world.

We shall not be dismayed by this campaign. The growing strength of the Protestant movement and its accelerating momentum in Brazil and Mexico and elsewhere are most striking. We believe that an

era of growth is promised the Protestant missionary enterprise in our Latin American fields which is limited only by our recognition of the opportunity and our response to its challenge.

### The Secularization of Christianity

It is not surprising that the war has influenced to a marked degree the particular emphases that are discernible in the missionary message, and even in Christianity itself.

So dreadful and all-embracing was the conflict that the one message for the world which appeals to us as most urgent and relevant is the message of peace. How natural, then, that we should find Christians interpreting the Gospel more and more in terms of peace and world order.

Moreover, the overwhelming physical need and suffering of the world, involving not merely the aged and the infirm, but whole nations and races of men, have caused us to think of our message increasingly in terms of human pity, physical relief, social uplift, and philanthropy. Certainly there never was a time when the streams of Christian compassion needed to flow more freely than now. There are no sacrifices too great for us to bear in demonstrating to a bleeding, suffering world the tenderness of sympathy and concern that is one of the essential elements of Christlikeness. We would not be true members of our Father's family if we could look with indifference upon the agonies of His children over whom He yearns day and night.

But there is danger here lest the Church herself lose sight of her spiritual and redemptive message through absorption in the overwhelming physical, social, and economic issues of the day. This is crucial. It is not that we should talk less about peace, or relief, or rehabilitation, or "the building of a new world." This part of our message, the duty of man to man, is vital; but it is not enough. We cannot suspend a Christian world in a vacuum; faith and conviction are essential. To a large degree our Christian social concern today is moving under the momentum of a spiritual motivation provided by

a generation that had a deeper and more virile faith than ours. We are living on an "unearned spiritual increment" that will exhaust itself in time unless it is replenished soon by a revival of vital faith in the cardinal doctrines of God, Christ, regeneration, and salvation. Hence the critical importance of holding to a central emphasis on the spiritual and redemptive message of Christ and Him crucified as the one hope and salvation of men. Failing in this, Christianity is destined to spend its force and succumb to the gradual but fatal processes of spiritual attrition.

We believe that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was providentially guided when it adopted as the last and climactic paragraph of the Manual for the government of its Foreign Mission work the following statement:

> "The great end of missionary life and service is the preaching of Christ and Him crucified to the non-evangelized peoples. All forms of missionary work must be subordinate to this end. The Executive Committee will, therefore, sanction no methods of missionary effort except as they contribute to a wider and more effective proclamation of the Gospel. And the Missions in all their recommendations and policies are charged to keep this chief end in view."

This statement, to which it would seem any Christian would agree, is actually challenged in certain quarters within Protestantism. It is being maintained, for example, that medical and educational work should be divorced from any conscious relation to the work of evangelism. It has even been said that there is a fundamental dishonesty involved in maintaining schools or hospitals with the purpose at the same time of winning students and patients to faith in Christ. There must exist, it is said, a basic "integrity" between the method of work and the end in view, and it is objected that this integrity does not exist where an evangelistic result is sought "under the guise" of imparting education.

Such a view does violence to the oneness of the human personality and the totality of its need. I am none the less sincere in my concern for the mind or the body of a man if, while I seek to teach him or heal him, I also strive to impart that richer and fuller gift of spiritual life in Christ. Rather, the sincerity of my interest in him would be open to question if, while ministering to lesser wants, I neglected to offer help in an area of deeper and more lasting need.

For this we have the authority and the pattern of Christ Himself. "Throughout the varied forms and methods that our Lord employed in His program of the Kingdom there ran one unified purpose, namely, the imparting of that priceless spiritual gift of eternal life and relationship with God. In all His deeds of mercy He was the dispenser of gifts surpassing in value what men asked of Him. They came asking to be healed; they went away with their sins forgiven. The lame sought Him out and returned not only walking and leaping, but praising God. The palsied, imploring him to restore their wasted bodies, arose from their beds with their bodies whole and their sins forgiven. Blind and groping, a man came to Jesus for healing, and when he went away the light of day was in his eyes and the light of the world was in his heart. A spiritual and redemptive light was diffused over every act and word of Christ."[6]

No danger confronting Protestantism today is more sinister than this overemphasis in its message on the purely temporal aspects of human life. If there was a time when the "other worldly" note was too strong in our preaching, that time has passed. The peril today is that the very concept of God, or even of the soul, is likely to be lost in the message of a Church that in some quarters seems to be concerned almost exclusively with the social and humanistic aspects of life. Those who clamor for a further strengthening of the social emphasis in the Christian message do not rightly assess the present state of the Church. They do not see that she is in mortal danger of losing her spiritual and redemptive power through an already exaggerated stress on the purely humanitarian aspects of religion, accompanied by a corresponding neglect of the dynamic message of the Gospel

of our Saviour. Why pull out the choke when the carburetor is already flooded!

"Let the Church be the Church"—not a political action committee, or an economic conference, or a foreign policy association. Let her emphasize again the great themes of sin and repentance and faith and salvation. Let her espouse once more with renewed vigor her glorious spiritual mission, beseeching men to be reconciled unto God. This is her God-given commission. To exchange it for anything else is to sell her birthright for a mess of pottage.

### The World Is Fluid

The great crisis through which we have come in the early 1940's has shaken the world to its foundations. Millions of men are now engaged in overhauling the whole structure of human society. No phase of life is exempt. Everything—politics, economics, science, education, international relations, social relations, and religion—is undergoing a reassessment. The very presuppositions of life are being examined again.

The heart of the world is fluid today, molten in the red-hot crucible of war, and the challenge to the Church is to provide the new mold in which the future is to be cast. It is a task that charms us both with fascination and with fear. The old forms have been broken; the image that Nebuchadnezzar set up has fallen. God grant that the fiery ordeal through which we have come may help us to reveal in greater glory than ever the form of Him who is like the Son of God.

Now is the time. The greatest test that ever confronted the Christian Church is before us. We are facing the supreme hour of need and of opportunity. It is ours to decide whether we move forward into a new understanding of God's purposes and new achievement through faith and endeavor, or, preoccupied by lesser things and faithless in our God-given mission, allow the day of our visitation to pass. May this hour mark the beginning of an epoch in Foreign Missions, an era of new obedience to the Great Commission which is still the charter of the Church.

*Chapter II*

# BRAZIL, Land of Opportunity and Challenge

THE flight from Miami to Belem, Brazil, in two days, over vast spaces of land and ocean and sky, is a never-to-be-forgotten experience. Strangely, the swiftness of this trip, as contrasted with the fifteen-day voyage by boat, does not make South America seem any nearer. Rather it emphasizes the distance. One sees what lies between—the broad expanse of open sea, the amazing West Indies chain with its succession of huge land masses forming a 1,500-mile causeway to Venezuela, and the endless canyons among the clouds through which the plane threads its way hour after hour.

We are taking off from Cayenne, French Guiana. This is the last lap. Belem is the next stop. Three hours and fifteen minutes of straight flying lie ahead. It is raining; clouds are hanging dark and low over the airport. The wind is blowing in irregular gusts. Around us everywhere is the jungle.

I am tempted to suggest that we are in no special hurry, and that we might postpone our departure from Cayenne until the squall has passed; but no, here we go! We roar down the runway, the tail of the plane comes up, there goes the slight lift, and we are in the air. It is rough as we head straight into the dark cloud mass around us. The plane wobbles uncertainly, rising and falling with sudden and sickening changes. The engines are racing at full power. In five minutes we have climbed out of the storm, and now, riding above the clouds, we can see the driving torrents of rain below and behind us. But it is still rough. Above is another layer of clouds, floating at approxi-

mately 7,000 feet. As long as we remain below this canopy the going will be uneven. The engines continue to roar steadily—we are still climbing. Now we have reached the upper cloud level, and as we nose into the formations the plane bucks and wavers. We are completely enveloped as we plow through, and the windows are darkened by the heavy cloud banks outside. Suddenly we break out, the sun beams down, and in that moment the whole broad expanse of the firmament appears above us. We are out on top! The bumping has stopped and the plane has settled into a smooth, rhythmic glide. We are flying at 9,000 feet. Below is the cloud-floor of our sky world, above us the blue of heaven.

How constant this cloud level is! Frequently we travel for a hundred miles or more without any change of altitude, just clearing the white floor beneath us. These are the best and smoothest parts of the trip.

But there seems to be a change coming ahead. Stretching across the far horizon in the path of our flight, huge clouds are rising. They tower several thousand feet above the level at which we are flying. We cannot go over them, as this would force us up to an extravagant altitude. To go around would carry us far off course. The only way seems to be to plunge through, and this promises to be rough. I find myself getting ready and set. But wait, the pilot has found a way. Somewhere in all the boiling mass just ahead of us now he has discovered a natural rift, a canyon through the clouds. We enter a narrow defile. On the right and the left, cloud banks rise perpendicularly to heights thousands of feet above us. The air is cold, and this, with the snow-white aspect of the clouds, creates the illusion that we are plunging through some vast glacial chasm. So stupendous is the scene that one loses all sense of distance and perspective and is caught in a sort of cosmic ecstasy.

Another plane comes hurtling through the canyon from the opposite direction. The sudden intrusion of this object of the earth seems almost startling. It is flying a thousand feet below us and passes with the speed of a bullet, like a shuttle threading through the sky.

For fifty miles we fly between the narrowing walls and come at last to the end of the canyon where, completely hemmed in and enclosed, we are forced to burrow directly into the cloud bank ahead. It is a deep and thick one. For a few minutes we are buffeted by currents and countercurrents as the plane is enveloped in the thick formations.

And now we have broken out again into the clear. The engines are relaxing their pace; the plane is slowly descending. Belem is just ahead. We make our rough way through the lower cloud layers; the airport comes in sight. We bank as we drop toward the end of the runway, lower and lower. Now the wheels are on the ground and we taxi up to the terminal of the modern airport, one of the chain of landing fields that our army engineers have constructed along the vast stretches of this northern coast of Brazil.

It is July 8, 1945. Can it be possible that it was only yesterday that we left steak-hungry, gasoline-dry, sugar-rationed Miami? Here we are in Brazil, a land flowing with milk and honey! We feast on juicy steaks. There is real butter in unlimited quantity. Huge sugar bowls, with generous spoons, invite the indulgent to fill up his cup until the white mound appears above the level of the coffee. The shelves of the stores are stocked with canned peaches, pears, apricots, and other fruits, and there are no blue points. Cigarettes and cigars are being sold over the counter in quantities limited only by the purchaser's pocketbook, not furtively to specially favored customers, but openly and recklessly before the very eyes of the public.

No one can expose himself even for a few weeks to the charms of Brazil without finding himself under her spell. The dark, mysterious fastnesses of the jungles along her great rivers; the exotic beauty of her far-famed capital with its crescent wave-washed beaches; the vivid color pattern of her flowering shrubs and trees; and, above all, the grace and charm of her friendly, hospitable people—all these are indescribably alluring to the visitor to the land of the Southern Cross. What a country this is—land of cactus and dusty roads, of parrots and palms, plazas and promenades, senoritas and serenades; land of moonlight and music, of sunsets and stars, of distances and far

horizons, of glamorous cities and squat villages; land of luxury and poverty, ignorance and sophistication; land of tomorrow; *land of opportunity and challenge!*

Missionary need and opportunity cannot be expressed in statistical formulas. It is not possible to say that, given a certain number of missionaries and an adequate amount of money, the Christian task in Brazil or in any other country can be accomplished. For the vital factors are spiritual and cannot be stated in quantitative terms of personnel and support. The real formula is the Gospel of our Saviour working through the life and testimony of Spirit-filled men and women. This is the absolute requisite. But if there are times when the providences of God work to create conditions that call to the Church for action, now is the time in Brazil. No field in all the world confronts us today with greater challenge.

### The Challenge of Bigness

Brazil is at once the largest Latin nation on earth and largest of the South American republics. Her land area, representing one-half of the whole South American continent, compares with that of our own United States with an extra Texas thrown in for good measure. Her population of 46,000,000 people equals that of all other South American countries combined! She is immensely rich in her resources of natural wealth. Consider the vast forests of her southern states of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul, the coffee and cotton plantations of São Paulo, the cattle herds of Matto Grosso and Goyaz, the mines and minerals of Minas Gerais, the tobacco plantations of Bahia, the cane fields of Pernambuco and the sugar refineries with their tall stacks standing against the sky, the cotton areas of Parahyba and Rio Grande do Norte, the carnauba and oiticica groves of Ceará, and the rubber and the forests of Pará and Amazonas. Ocean steamers go more than two thousand miles up the Amazon River. In the vast basin watered by this stream are 22,000 miles of navigable waterway. It is said that out of the Amazon's mouth flows one-fourth of all the

fresh water in the world and that the valley of this great river, if properly developed, could support 500,000,000 people!

### The Challenge of Brazil's Commanding Place in Latin American Life

Brazil is not merely largest in land area and in population, but is ranked today, in the judgment of many people, as the foremost nation of South America in point of power and influence. Her boundaries touch those of every other political division of South America except Chile and Ecuador. Venezuela, the three Guianas—British, French, and Dutch—Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia all impinge somewhere upon the borders of Brazil. Thus she probably has more immediately contiguous neighbors than any other nation on earth. Brazil can sit on her back porch, so to speak, and look over into the yards of almost all of her sister nations in the South American family. This unusual position of geographical advantage offers her an opportunity to influence every phase of South American life—political, economic, military, social, and religious.

The visitor to Brazil becomes conscious of a great national enthusiasm that is sweeping the country. There is an awakening consciousness among the people of the significant destiny that is before them, and they are rising to the challenge of a great future like a strong man ready to run a race. That this is something more than mere adolescent or collegiate exuberance is evidenced by the broad programs that one sees already under way in education, business, industry, transportation, agriculture, and general national development. What possibilities this suggests for the missionary enterprise! What might it mean for the Christian cause if this great nation, so rich in promise, could be brought to the feet of Christ!

### The Challenge of a New Friendliness Toward America

The American GI may not be a missionary in the usual sense, but the presence of thousands of our sailors and soldiers in Brazil during the war has engendered a feeling of warmheartedness and comrade-

ship between our two countries that is proving an immeasurable asset to our missionaries in their work. The fine appearance of our men, the efficiency and "know-how" with which they built air fields and helped to patrol the Brazilian coast, and the fine camaraderie that characterized their relations with the young people of Brazil, have awakened the respect and appreciation of the nation. There were exceptions, to be sure, as some of our men failed to live up to their responsibilities as representatives of America; but the Brazilians have been gracious enough to overlook these mistakes and have responded enthusiastically to the finer impressions left by the great body of those who worthily exemplified the better traditions of our American life. Well do I remember that Sunday evening service at Garanhuns, Pernambuco, when the Rev. Antonio Gueiros, pastor of the church, before a crowded congregation, with deep feeling and appreciation paid his glowing tribute to the American soldier.

All over Brazil there is a new eagerness to study English, and the foreign traveler is constantly encountering young men who are anxious to try out the phrases they have learned, many of them speaking our language with remarkable fluency. There is a widespread demand for education under American auspices, and our mission schools are overflowing, with long lists of applicants arranging for their admission a year or two in advance.

American headlines and feature pictures are prominent on the front pages of Brazil's newspapers. This is in striking contrast to the marked European bias that the Brazilian press displayed ten years ago. In those days, dispatches from London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Madrid, and Lisbon pre-empted the space; now, with a definite North American orientation, headlines from Washington, New York, and San Francisco are much in evidence in all of the great journals of Brazil.

Stores are stocked with American supplies. Eastman Kodak films, which all but disappeared from the counters of our American drugstores during the war, could be purchased in shops in Rio de Janeiro. Coca-Colas could be had at a half-dozen places in Rio while thirsty

Americans in our own country were accepting poor substitutes. The most popular downtown rendezvous in Brazil's capital is the Sorveteria Americana, where sundaes, banana splits, and soft drinks are dispensed to the younger set who are fast acquiring a taste for the delicacies of the American soda fountain.

Everywhere, on the trains and other public carriers, there is a "glad hand" for Americans. I remember the innumerable courtesies that I received while traveling in the interior, attentions that were accorded me simply because I was an American. Rolling one day on the "Goyaz Limited," at leisurely pace, through the hot, dusty stretches of the interior State of Goyaz, my daughter and I were entertained for two hours by a roving band of Brazilian students led by a young troubadour who played a mammoth accordion and exuded music at every pore, singing with the happy abandon of a bird free in the forest on a bright morning. Recognizing us as foreigners, they stopped to inquire our nationality. Learning that we were from the United States, they proceeded to charm us with a series of American songs: "Rancho Grande," "Always," "I Got Spurs That Jingle, Jangle, Jingle," and many others. As the grand climax of their repertoire, they arranged themselves in a compact group and sang, more gloriously than I have ever heard it before or since, our great war hymn, "God Bless America." There was more in the singing of that anthem that day than a mere desire to please two Americans who were travelers in their midst. It was a sincere tribute, offered with deep feeling, to the country and the people for whom they felt a warm new-found affection.

On August 22, 1945, I stood with my daughter among the thousands who swarmed the stately Avenida Rio Branco in the capital city of Brazil to welcome the returning heroes of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force after their victorious campaign in Italy where they fought as a contingent of the American Fifth Army. It was a scene of indescribable enthusiasm and gaiety. The flags of the United Nations hung from the façades of the buildings. Every window, balcony, housetop, and eminence was crowded with wildly

cheering people who paid a tumultuous tribute to the bronzed men of Brazil as they marched through the streets of Rio in full war equipment. The American flag was much in evidence. Right in the middle of the parade a big army truck went by loaded with Brazilian soldiers, and the only ensign they displayed was the Stars and Stripes, an emblem which they seemed to consider as fitting as the flag of their own country. And among the crowds that choked the sidewalks of Rio that day stood two Americans with great lumps in their throats, wildly waving the Brazilian flag, responding with deepest emotion to this demonstration of the new solidarity that exists between our country and this friendly nation to the South.

This is a precious thing, a sacred commitment. We have won the confidence and affection of a great nation. Are we worthy of it? God help us if through thoughtlessness or abuse we betray the trust with which we have been honored. God pity us if as Christian people we do not avail ourselves of this opportunity to show our true friendship, sharing with our brothers of Brazil the most precious possession we have—the knowledge and love of our glorious Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. The thing that should awe us as we look at our missionary situation is not the obstacles or the opposition that we confront, but the enormous prestige of America, the Christian obligation that opportunity lays upon us, and the fear that we might prove faithless to our God-given responsibility.

### The Challenge of Brazil's Spiritual Dissatisfaction

There is a deep spiritual restlessness stirring in the hearts of many Brazilians today, especially among the more cultured and intellectual classes. To understand the true nature of this development one must go back a few years in history. The Brazilians are a mixed people. The early Portuguese colonists came over and established their first settlement in the sixteenth century. They found the continent already partially inhabited by the Indians, the aborigines of South America. Later, there was a large importation of slaves from Africa, who were

brought in by the colonists to help them develop and cultivate their new domain.

Thus it will be seen that in these respects the settling and development of Brazil parallel rather closely the history of our own country. We recognize in the United States the same racial elements that have entered into the making of our South American neighbor—the European colonial, the Indian aborigine, and the Negro from Africa—with this significant difference, that whereas in our country these three racial streams have flowed side by side with a minimum of intermingling, in Brazil they have come into combination in varying ratios, and intermarriage has been frequent rather than exceptional.

The religious history of Brazil has followed largely the racial analogy. The colonists from Portugal brought with them the Romanism of the Iberian peninsula, the intolerant type that produced the Inquisition. Transplanted to the shores of the new world, this faith came in contact with the nature and spirit worship of the Indians. Later, with the large influx of slaves, there came the paganism of Africa. These elements have come together to produce in Brazil a peculiar religious amalgam, the nearest counterpart of which is found in Mexico, where both the racial and religious history of the country have followed similar lines. The freedom of intermarriage between the several racial strains brought the various religious elements into intimate contact and hastened the process of syncretism that has taken place.

Thus the dominant Roman Church in Brazil presents a strange combination of Christian and pagan beliefs and practices. In its basest expressions, frankness compels one to say that it is little better than the outright heathenism that one encounters in the confessedly non-Christian systems of the Far East. It is a religion of dead formalism. The symbols of religion have somehow taken the place of the spirit of religion; faith has been replaced by form. There has been much praying, but little prayer; much confession, but little true repentance. Rites have taken the place of the right; superstition has been mistaken for the supernatural; and the Cross, the emblem itself,

has taken the place of Christ. The truths and principles of Christianity have been lost in a maze of observances. Mint, anise, and cummin have been tithed, but the weightier matters of the law have been forgotten. Images originally intended as aids to the spiritual imagination have themselves become the objects of worship, the implements of a new idolatry.

Happily, there are notable exceptions to this general spiritual decadence. Noble spirits within the Roman Church are even more outspoken than we are in deploring the conditions that exist. A number of years ago an official organ of that Church summarized the situation as follows:

> "In spite of everything the Church still persists in Brazil; in spite of its despised Episcopacy, the deplorable state of its clergy, a worship bastardized with pagan practices, beliefs either fanatic or skeptical, and asphyxiated as it is by the paralysis of a crushing indifference. The majesty of worship has been here reduced to practices not only idolatrous and heathenish but even of an absurd fetishism."

It is not surprising that large numbers of people in Brazil have lost faith in the dominant Church. Especially among the more enlightened classes who are beginning to see through the shams and hypocrisies of religion as they have known it, there is a movement away from the Church. While approximately eighty per cent of the people of Brazil are regarded as Catholics, it is a matter of common knowledge that the allegiance of many is purely traditional and formal. Thousands are openly expressing their disgust with an interpretation of Christianity that can command neither their intellectual nor their spiritual respect.

Here is a situation that is fraught with both peril and opportunity. The danger is that disillusionment regarding the only kind of faith they have known may lead some to repudiate religion altogether and tempt them to drift into skepticism and atheism. The opportunity lies in the fact that there are thousands who do not want

to forsake Christianity and faith. They are wistful about it. They are eager to find some interpretation of Christianity that will satisfy the sincere demands of mind and of heart. Thus the question of salvaging the whole cause of religion in Brazil is squarely in the hands of the evangelicals. The Catholic Church is unquestionably losing ground. Unless we can go in quickly and present an undegraded expression of faith, religion is likely to meet with the same difficulties with which it has been beset in Mexico and in Russia.

Out of these very conditions, the evangelical churches have inherited a wonderful opportunity in Brazil. We are enjoying a time of unusual favor. We are being heralded in many quarters as the new hope for religion. Those who have become surfeited with the superstitions and abuses of the Church they have known are happy to find that it is not necessary for them to desert the cause of faith altogether, but that they can turn to the evangelical Gospel as their hope and dependence.

### The Challenge of a Developing Protestantism

The rapidly developing strength and momentum of the Protestant churches is one of the most conspicuous elements in the appeal that Brazil offers today. While the number of communicants, as compared with the total population of the country, is still very small, the evangelical Church wields an influence in Brazilian life far out of proportion to its numerical strength. The Rev. Dr. Miguel Rizzo, eminent pastor of the Unida Presbyterian Church of the great city of São Paulo, attributes the greater part of his nation's new progress to the evangelical movement. He credits the Protestant missionary enterprise with the "transformation of Brazil," dating the era of her awakening from the coming of Protestant missionaries less than a hundred years ago. To them and to the work they inaugurated he assigns Brazil's strides in education, the awakening of a social conscience, and the aspiration to a higher standard of ideals both in religious and in secular life.

Among the various Protestant groups, the Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians are the strongest. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil is today the largest single denomination, with a General Assembly, four Synods, and twenty-six Presbyteries. It has a membership of more than 50,000 communicants, spreading itself over all of the twenty-one states, numbering a constituency of about 300,000 people cared for by over 200 Presbyterian ministers. This Church is the daughter of the combined efforts of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and the Presbyterian Church, U. S.

The First Presbyterian Church of Rio de Janeiro, organized in 1862, has become a great flourishing congregation, numbering among its members people prominent in the social, business, and official life of the capital. Dr. Charles T. Leber, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., gives the following account of his recent visit to this congregation:

> "Perhaps the high-light of religious inspiration on my trip came to me the one Sunday morning I spent in Rio when I preached in the great temple-like First Presbyterian Church . . . I was prepared, yet unprepared, for the worship service. Prepared—because I had expected a fine congregation, having heard of its historic development through the remarkable ministry of its pastor who has made his church the most outstanding in all South America. But unprepared—because even my imagination had not pictured the vast sanctuary of white marble with its high arches, crowded with people of the upper classes as well as common folk. Standing in the high pulpit I found a congregation unequaled anywhere—all colors, all types, eagerly interested. One was awed by such a demonstration of Christian achievement and potentiality. Indeed the Protestant movement has become an integral part of the national life of Brazil. Memorable was the moment for me as in silent invocation we stood in that tremendous and quiet church and then the large well-trained choir sang softly

and impressively, yet with strong, wide-sweeping cadence, 'Nearer, My God to Thee.' "[1]

In addition to this, the mother church, there are twenty other self-supporting Presbyterian churches in the city of Rio and its environs. All of these are carrying their own current expenses in full, and are contributing in addition to the benevolent program of their own General Assembly. However, if one remembers that the population of Rio is equivalent to that of the entire state of South Carolina, a quota of twenty churches seems pitiably small.

Outside of the capital city, all up and down the eastern seaboard, churches of the various evangelical denominations have planted themselves in strategic towns and cities. Overshadowed as they are by the pretentious structures of the dominant church, they are not impressive to the eye of the tourist; but they stand there as evidence of the fact that the evangelical Church is an entity in Brazil, that it has come to stay, and that it is deepening its rootage in the heart and life of the people.

To the American Christian who visits Brazil, the Protestant Church in that country presents certain characteristics that are both interesting and inspiring:

1. It is a virile and growing Church. Of all the Latin American countries, Brazil is most open and friendly to the evangelical message. Indeed, the Protestant Church in Brazil is said to be the fastest growing evangelical body in the entire world! Between 1911 and 1938 the Protestant communicant membership increased by 640 per cent! Wherever one goes, he finds himself amazed at the virility and enthusiasm of the rapidly developing congregations. Churches are crowded to overflowing. As often as not the buildings are found with one wall torn out because the sanctuary is being enlarged to accommodate greater congregations. Of the thirty-one churches that I visited in 1945, all of which I had seen on a previous journey ten years before, every one, without exception, was either worshiping in a new building or had increased the capacity of the original structure.

One is struck by the flaming spirit of missions and of evangelism. No church is so small that it has not at least one outpost. In the city of São Paulo, the large Unida Presbyterian Church formerly maintained eighteen missions of its own within the city and its environs. I was disappointed on my recent visit to learn that there are now only twelve, but this was explained by the fact that eight of the former outposts had attained complete self-support, have called pastors of their own, and are now established on an independent basis. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil has organized a wide-awake, far-visioned Board of Home Missions through which a broad work of church development and extension is being carried on in particularly needy and neglected areas of the republic. This work has now expanded into the Amazon Basin in the north and to the far western reaches of the vast Brazilian interior. A foreign mission work also has been maintained for many years by the same church in the old mother country of Portugal.

2. The Protestant Church in Brazil is sound. The tide of religious skepticism that has swept through the churches of the United States has scarcely touched the simple and wholehearted faith of Brazilian Protestantism. There is an evangelical glow in all of the preaching; Gospel sermons are the rule rather than the exception; the call to repentance and faith is consistently sounded; and the Church is conscious of her primary spiritual and redemptive mission. But the young evangelical movement in that land is still dependent in large measure on missionary help from the churches of the United States, and there rests upon the boards and sending agencies of this country a sober obligation to see that the streams of Christian thought that we pour into Latin America are kept pure. God forbid that we should become channels of the sinister influence of modernism, and blight the faith of these newly won followers of Christ by the introduction of a baptized infidelity.

3. It is a Church that is growing in influence and recognition. In the very heart of Rio's thriving business section is the Erasmo Braga Avenue. Here is a name that is practically synonymous with the

evangelical cause in Brazil. Dr. Braga was for years the towering leader of the Protestant forces of the land. While we are proud to claim him as a Presbyterian, his influence extended far beyond his own church, or even the evangelical movement as a whole, and made him a figure of national importance. A man of deep religious faith and of prodigious capabilities, he richly deserved the honor done him by the City Council of Rio in naming this avenue in the heart of the capital after him.

Not far away, in another quarter of the city, is a public square that bears the name of Alvaro Reis, thus perpetuating the memory of another distinguished Presbyterian. Dr. Alvaro Reis was for many years the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Rio, a man of Christlike personality, a brilliant pupiteer, who endeared himself to the citizens of Rio de Janeiro by the richness of his life and service. How many avenues are there in Washington, D. C., that are named for ministers and leaders of the Presbyterian Church?

On the central square of the town of Lavras, in the State of Minas Gerais, there stands a monument erected by the citizens in honor of the man who, more than any other, gave his life in unselfish service to the community and endeared himself to the hearts of the people. It is not a memorial to some former mayor, or to a distinguished son of this important little city of the interior, but a tribute in bronze and stone to Samuel R. Gammon, missionary to Brazil of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, who takes rank in the hearts of the people of Lavras as their first citizen. Near by stands the institution that bears his name, enrolling 900 students and wielding an influence in Brazil that can be compared only with the impression that such institutions as Princeton, Harvard, and Yale have made upon the United States.

Dr. Getulio Vargas, who a year ago completed his long regime as the President of the Brazilian Republic, has two sons; and it is surprising, in this predominantly Catholic country, to learn that one of them bears the name, Luther, and the other, Calvin!

It is significant that during the recent war, for the first time in history, two Protestant chaplains served with the armed forces of Brazil and were given distinctive insignia by their country to show their evangelical connection. One of these, the Rev. John Soren, pastor of the great First Baptist Church of Rio, so distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry in action that he was lauded by the Brazilian press in feature stories and photographs, and the reception that was given in his honor on his return was attended by high dignitaries of the Brazilian Army and Government.

I shall never forget the Presbyterian preacher whom I met in the city of Belem ten years ago, and the dimly lighted rented hall in which he held his services. His congregation was made up, for the most part, of the humbler people of the city. They were unable to pay their pastor a living salary, and he had found it necessary to study law and qualify himself as an attorney in order to supplement his meager income. Though small, almost diminutive in frame, young Mr. Gueiros was capable and gifted, his black flashing eyes and quick nervous movements indicating the alert sensitiveness of his mind. I recall the feeling of sympathy, almost of pity, that I had for him as I thought of the great handicaps under which he worked, the pastor of a poor people in a great city, surrounded by the imposing cathedrals of the dominant Church.

Ten years later, I was met at the airport on my arrival in Belem by Mr. Gueiros and three other friends. In contrast to the usual delays that one experiences with customs, immigration, medical examination, and the like, I found myself being ushered past the long line of inspectors without even so much as an official glance at either my baggage or my passport! The black, shiny Buick sedan that waited outside the terminal building opened its doors to us, and presently we were rolling down the smooth pavement toward the heart of the city of Belem. I turned to my friend, Dr. Langdon Henderlite, who was seated beside me, and asked what it all meant. He said, "Keep quiet, and I'll tell you about it when we get to the hotel." I learned that the humble Presbyterian preacher of ten years ago was now the

President of the Legislative Council of the State of Para, second in authority only to the governor of the State! Concerned over the corruption in public life he had run a few years before for a minor office and had been elected. His diligence and scrupulous honesty were soon recognized, and when he announced himself a candidate for a more conspicuous position he was again chosen by an overwhelming majority. And now his public career had brought him to the envied position that he occupied as one of the two most prominent men in the political life of Para. He continues to preach the Gospel as before, and his influence has been immeasurably broadened by the recognition he has won through Christian principles of integrity and honor.

The name, Gueiros, is almost a synonym for Protestantism in North Brazil. One of the distinguished members of this family is Dr. Israel Gueiros, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Recife, Pernambuco, who combines with his busy schedule of church work a full practice as a Doctor of Medicine. On a recent tour through the United States, the burden of Dr. Gueiros' message to the people of our American churches was an expression of gratitude for what the Gospel had done for his family and people through the life and work of Presbyterian missionaries. He had belonged, to use his own words, to a family of "poor people, uncultured people, and bad people." About forty years ago his father and an uncle had come under the influence of Dr. George W. Butler, a missionary of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., laboring in the State of Pernambuco. Both were converted, as he said, through the "powerful message of the Gospel." His father still serves as the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Garanhuns, and his uncle, the distinguished Dr. Jeronimo Gueiros, is pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Recife, a man of recognized culture and the outstanding authority on Portuguese literature in all North Brazil. But this is not all. Today in the immediate family connection, there are five doctors, six lawyers, ten ministers of the Gospel, and thirty teachers! Lest anyone should think that this is merely the result of the natural progress of the

Brazilian people in enlightenment and capacity, Dr. Gueiros adds that one need only look at other branches of the same family that did not come under Gospel influences. In his language, they still remain as they were, "poor people, uncultured people, and bad people."

More than fifty years ago, John Boyle, pioneer missionary of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., to Brazil, rode into the little village of Cajurú in the interior of the State of São Paulo. His horses tired, his colored helper complaining of too long a journey without adequate rest, his supplies exhausted, the night falling and no hotel or house in the fanatical community willing to receive him, Dr. Boyle resorted to one last appeal. "Is there a Freemason in this town?", he asked. He was escorted to the home of Sr. Miguel Rizzo, who received him cordially, refreshed him with food and drink, watered his horses, and opened wide the doors of his hospitality. This man was the leading citizen of the village, and during the brief visit of the missionary a strong friendship developed between the two. The Gospel was preached, not only to members of Sr. Rizzo's own household, but to specially invited guests who were summoned to hear the missionary's message. Succeeding visits over a period of time resulted in the conversion of Sr. Rizzo and his entire family, as well as others in the village of Cajurú. Today, the three sons of that hospitable Brazilian gentleman are all Presbyterian ministers, one being the pastor of the Unida Church in São Paulo, the largest Presbyterian organization in Brazil. The three daughters all married Presbyterian preachers. Several of the grandchildren have given their lives to the service of the Church, one being at present a student at Princeton Seminary and another preparing to enter the General Assembly's Training School at Richmond, Virginia. When John Boyle rode into Cajurú on that memorable evening a half-century ago, he won, not a family, but a whole Presbytery to Christ!

4. It is a homogeneous Church, united in spirit and in message. While the various Protestant groups in Brazil bear their individual denominational names, they are bound together by a conspicuous spiritual comradeship. This co-operation finds practical expression

in the Evangelical Federation of Brazil, in which almost all of the churches and missions are participating and which provides for concerted action in matters of common interest. The efficient and devoted Secretary of this organization is Dr. Rodolfo Anders, a Presbyterian.

Functioning under the Evangelical Federation is the Council of Religious Education, which edits the Sunday-school lesson helps used by practically all the evangelical churches. An interesting feature of the work of this Council is its provision for the study of the Bible in the public schools. The constitution of Brazil makes a place for voluntary religious instruction in public education. The rights of religious minorities are protected so that any group is free to secure a teacher of its own choosing. The Council offers suitable textbooks for such courses and is encouraging their use throughout the country. The textbooks are in four grades and it is especially interesting to note that they comprise the Bible lessons prepared by our own missionary, the late Dr. Samuel R. Gammon, and used for years as texts for Bible instruction in our great school, the Gammon Institute, at Lavras.

### The Challenge of Our Own Missionary Undertaking in Brazil

In this analysis of the challenge of Brazil to the Church today a paramount place must be given to the right of our own missionaries to the continued and ever-increasing support of the Church through life and gifts and prayer. For they, after all, have been the creative and formative force in the astonishing results that have been briefly summarized above. Never totaling more than half a hundred men and women, they have undertaken the prodigious task of planting the Gospel in an area larger than that part of the United States east of the Mississippi River. Theirs is an appealing story of patient and unremitting toil under conditions difficult enough to break the heart of less courageous souls. Living often in spiritual isolation, far from their fellow workers in other stations, buffeted by strong currents of

fanaticism and religious antagonism, they have proclaimed the Christian message to countless hungry hearts in Brazil. Their lives have been multiplied a hundred times in those whom they have won to Christ, and many a great leader of the Brazilian Church stands gladly to acknowledge his debt to these ambassadors and say, "I am the product of the work of your missionaries."

But the part we have played in sustaining this enterprise through the years does not make a pretty story. We have not upheld our missionaries with our prayers as we should. We have sent them out across the world and have often abandoned them in forgetfulness. We have not supplied the sinews for their work. They have been compelled to make bricks without straw. They are handicapped by inadequate means of transportation, by dilapidated buildings, by insufficient appropriations, and by a general lack of those physical tools with which the missionary must be equipped if he is to do his best work.

No burden that the missionary has had to carry can compare with his disappointment over our lack of response to his importunate pleas for more workers. Our force in Brazil is no larger than it was twenty-five years ago. With an empire in sight we have sent enough men and women to take a county! Little wonder that some of our workers are prematurely old, some are sick, some are tired and broken, and all are carrying responsibilities that bid fair to exhaust their natural resources of body and spirit. This is crucial. It is laid herewith upon the hearts and consciences of our people. It is a call to our youth to volunteer. It is a challenge to new giving and to heart-searching prayer.

On my recent trip to Brazil I found a missionary couple in the far southern corner of the great interior state of Matto Grosso, within a few miles of the Paraguayan border and three days' journey from their nearest fellow workers. Their normal service term of seven years had stretched to nine. They explained that it was impossible for them to go home for the rest that was long past due; there was no one to take their place. The personnel shortage was so acute that

not one missionary could be moved even temporarily to their locality without leaving his own vacant.

In North Brazil I found fourteen men and women, about the number of an average Sunday-school class, maintaining a program of work for which a hundred would not have been too many. They were conducting a boys' school with 550 students, a girls' school with 260 students, an institute for the training of lay workers, a publishing plant that was sending literature into every state in Brazil, a theological seminary where ministers were being prepared for a region as large as the Southern States, and a wide work of evangelism over an area as broad as from the Atlantic coast to Kansas City.

No single thing within our power would so hearten and stimulate our band of missionaries as the sending of a considerable body of young and enthusiastic recruits. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil is importuning the two mother churches in the United States to dispatch one hundred new missionaries at the earliest possible moment to help meet the challenge of Brazil's open door. One-half of these should come from the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This call we pass on to young people of our Church who are seeking to fit their lives into God's spacious plans for the world of tomorrow.

Our Missions have laid careful plans for a bigger work in Brazil. The entire field has been surveyed and a strategy outlined along two principal lines:

1. The strengthening of our whole program for the development of leaders for the Church. This is our paramount need in Brazil. The growth of the evangelical Church is so fast that it has completely outrun the supply of preachers. New groups of believers are springing up more rapidly than the present facilities for training can produce the leadership to guide them. The shortage is seen in all types of workers—ordained ministers, evangelists, trained lay workers, and teachers for our educational institutions. The program therefore includes the radical strengthening of the theological seminaries at Campinas and Recife, the expansion of the training school for lay workers at Patrocinio where the "non-commissioned" leadership is

being prepared, and the general improvement of our educational institutions such as the Gammon Institute, the Fifteenth of November School, and the Agnes Erskine School. It is from these schools that the leaders of the Brazilian Church have come in the past, and it is to the same sources that the Church must look for the men and women who will guide its life and activity in the future.

2. The broadening of our whole program of evangelism, especially in the great interior States of Matto Grosso and Goyaz, and in the Amazon Basin. It must be borne in mind that the foreign missionary carries the home mission task of the Brazilian Church. As congregations are brought to self-government and self-support, they are left to grow and develop on their own resources, and the missionary seeks new fields where he begins all over again. Thus, the work of missions is a perpetual pioneering, and the vast unreached fields will continue to challenge the heart of the ambassador of Christ until he has preached the Gospel to the last man and woman.

### The Challenge of the Unfinished Task

Almost the full strength of the evangelical churches is along a narrow strip, perhaps four hundred or five hundred miles wide, extending along the eastern coast of Brazil from north to south. The vast interior, with its millions of people and thousands of scattered villages and farmsteads, has scarcely been touched. Here is the great challenge of South America, in the broad rolling country that stretches back interminably toward the interior. No country is growing more rapidly than Brazil. She is still a young nation that has had only a foretaste of the immeasurable developments that are to come. She is like the United States of the 1840's. People are "going west." Railroads and highways are being extended into the great hinterland. New communities are springing up overnight. There are cities of 40,000 people that could not be found on any map of Brazil twelve years ago. Vast tracts of land are being brought under cultivation. The huge States of Matto Grosso and Goyaz and Amazonas are beginning to flower as settlers move in to tame the wilder-

ness. Herds of cattle range over the rolling prairies, caravan routes are becoming busy with traffic, trade is flourishing, and the foundations of a vast inner empire are being laid. The people are spiritually hungry, and our evangelical forces are faced by an unbounded opportunity for growth and expansion.

The dominant Roman Church is utterly unable to cope with this great rural task. Indeed, the clergy are not strong enough numerically to do more than occupy the cathedrals of the towns and cities. Despite the reputed strength of the Roman Church in Brazil, it is a fact that there are more native Brazilian Protestant ministers than there are native Brazilian Catholic priests. The large majority of the Catholic clergy are from Europe and North America.[2]

The evangelization of rural Brazil, then, becomes the task of the evangelical churches. We must do this work if it is to be done at all. There is no limit to the opportunity. Such is the heart-hunger of these rural folk who have long sought the comfort and the assurances of faith, that they are eager to grasp every opportunity to hear the Gospel. Wherever we can send workers to plant the seed, a rich harvest can be expected. In many instances the response has been so willing and enthusiastic that churches have been established and brought to self-support in the space of three or four years.

A special call comes to us now from the Amazon Basin where, in conjunction with the Home Mission Board of the Brazilian Presbyterian Church and the Central Mission of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., we are inaugurating a pioneer work among the river-dwellers of that vast fluvial region. Nowhere in all the world can one find a people more needy, more neglected, more appealing to the Christian heart and conscience. Tiny huts, of palm leaves and sticks, sit at the edge of the river on small platforms which rest half on the bank and half on stilts that stand in the water. Seldom seen in clusters, the primitive dwellings present a picture of indescribable loneliness and isolation. Frequently they are all but overgrown by the jungle. The green wall presses in relentlessly from every side and threatens to push the frail refuge off the tiny shelf it has gained

on the river's edge. These people have no schools, no churches, no hospitals; no doctors, no teachers, no preachers; no books, no pictures, no tables, no chairs; no medicine for the body, no balm for the soul; nothing to relieve the dreary life of their jungle world, and no ray of hope to lighten the horizons of eternity which for them are as dark and mysterious as the forests around them.

From five selected posts, widely spaced through the area, evangelists will carry the Gospel message and medical aid by boat to the scattered population along the banks of the great river and its tributaries.

And the little communities that lie off the beaten path among the ten thousand hills and valleys that make up the spiritually empty interior of Brazil—these, too, are calling. Twenty-two hours by rail from Rio, then two hours by auto and two hours by horseback, and one comes to the humble home of Snr. Limirio Ferreira dos Reis, a Brazilian peasant and an earnest Christian. I shall never forget the journey, especially the last lap of it. I think I have tried about every mode of conveyance known to man. I have moved through the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth; by plane and train; by bus, buggy, and bicycle; by wheelbarrow, ricksha, and sedan chair. But of all the modes of conveyance I have tried, horseback riding is the worst. The Bible says, "A horse is a vain thing for safety," and my experience bears out the fact that this Scripture, like all the rest, is inspired.

I have mastered all the arts of horseback riding but one. Somehow I cannot stay on the horse. Too often, I find myself in an inverted position, clutching wildly to the saddle, which in the pictures is always shown on the horse's back but in actual experience so frequently reverses its position. And it is not my idea of comfort in travel to be clinging to the under part of a horse, looking up through his front legs into his mouth!

It was in the late afternoon when we arrived at the little farmstead where we were to hold a meeting that night. It was built of mud and bamboo. There was no floor, just the hard clay, packed

through the years by the tramping of feet. There were no ceilings. Each room was open above, and over the whole structure had been thrown a red tile roof.

About five o'clock the people began to arrive. Out of the woods they came, on animals of various assortments. I recall a man and his wife and two children who rode in on a big gray mule, and as the animal came to a halt in the yard the whole family slid off over the four points of the compass.

By seven o'clock the house and its environs had become a moving mass of people. As the service began, the five rooms were full, packed with people until the walls seemed to bulge. The overflow stood outside in the yard and peered in through the open windows. The whole scene was lighted by a flickering flame burning in a small iron cruse filled with castor oil; a delightful use, by the way, for that much despised remedy! By the fitful light of this dim flame one could see the eager, pallid faces, many listening for the first time to the story of salvation. Spiritually starved, they heard with rapt attention, eagerly appropriating every word as though at last some long-neglected desire were being satisfied. It was my privilege that night to speak a simple message to those people, not a sermon, not an address, just a straightforward testimony, a heart-to-heart message of what Christ had done for me, and what He could do for any man who would put his trust in Him.

I cannot dismiss that company from my mind. They are a type of hundreds of such groups that could be gathered throughout the reaches of Brazil if only we had the messengers. Barefooted, ignorant, forgotten, they are a people that we have somehow passed by. They call to us from vast sections of Brazil's great hinterland where even the beginnings have not yet been made and the Gospel of our Saviour is a strange story.

Now is the time. The open door that we have been describing is no phantom of missionary optimism. It is reality so striking that one is constrained to interpret it as the direct call of God to our Church, a call that we simply cannot ignore and be blameless.

*Chapter III*

# MEXICO BREAKING WITH TRADITION

The international bridge that carries the highway from Texas across the Rio Grande into Mexico is a hyphen between two vastly different worlds. What with its tourist camps and filling stations, life along the paved road which stretches for 750 miles to Mexico City may reveal the recent influence of our high-speed civilization; but always, not far away, are the unmistakable signs of the picturesque old culture, only the edges of which have felt the touch of modern life. Land of sombreros and zarapes, of guitars and marimbas, of patios and parrots, of cactus and burros, of bullfights and fiestas, of tortillas and tamales, of pyramids and pottery, of wars and revolutions—where can one find so colorful and romantic a people!

The whole of the interior of Mexico is a high plateau averaging 5,000 feet or more above sea level. Above this tableland rise some of the most magnificent peaks of the Western Hemisphere, notably Popocatepetl and the towering Orizaba, second only to Mount McKinley in all North America. Around the foot of this plateau stretches a narrow fringe of coastal country where tropical conditions obtain, with great plantations of sugar, and groves of oranges, bananas, and other fruits. The climate of the plateau region is as nearly ideal as can be found on earth. The latitude keeps it warm and the altitude keeps it cool. Mexico City, capital and center of the nation's life, with its 1,350,000 people, is 7,440 feet above sea level or several hundred feet higher than the summit of Mount Mitchell. Here one finds perpetual spring where extremes of heat and cold such as we have in the United States are entirely unknown.

When the western world was first discovered by the Spanish explorers, Mexico already boasted two proud and flourishing Indian

civilizations, the Mayan and the Aztec. The Mayans, a lowland people, occupied the Yucatan Peninsula, while the Aztecs had established themselves on the high tableland and had built their magnificent capital, Tenochtitlan, on the present site of Mexico City. The colossal ruins of these ancient civilizations are among the most impressive historical monuments left in the world today.

It is said that Montezuma, the last great ruler of the Aztecs, lived in great splendor at his capital. His palace rose in terraces above the lake, its interior walls decorated with inlays of sweet-smelling woods and hung with rich draperies. His great armies were constantly acquiring new territory by conquest. Tribute poured in to him from every part of the land. Swift couriers, running in relays, carried messages from place to place throughout his vast kingdom. Fresh fish, brought by these runners from the Gulf of Mexico two hundred and sixty miles away, were served on Montezuma's table within thirty-six hours after being caught.

Even today the Indian element predominates in the population of Mexico, though the Mestizos, a mixed people of Spanish graft on Indian stock, compose the largest racial group.

### A History of Oppression

The story of Mexico is the chronicle of a long series of oppressions. The first great oppression took place under the Spanish conquerors who invaded Mexico under Cortes in 1519 and, after an eventful campaign, captured the Aztec capital and kingdom, took possession of Mexico in the name of the King of Spain, and began the task of subjugating the people. Whatever might be said in praise of the courage of this small Spanish expedition which accomplished its aim against unbelievable odds, the military feat was overshadowed by the cruelty, greed, and inhumanity that characterized the colonial period following the conquest. Force was ruthlessly employed in subjugating the Indian tribes. Whole villages were destroyed and new towns built upon their ruins. Huge grants of land were made to the Spanish nobles, and often entire settlements of Indians would, along

with the land, become the possession of the owner. A system of peonage developed which was virtually tantamount to slavery.

Finally, after almost three hundred years of suffering and abuse, spurred by the example of the United States which had won her freedom from England, Mexico, under the leadership of her heroes Hidalgo and Morelos, gained her independence from Spain in 1821, following a bitter struggle.

But this was not the end of oppressions. There was still the Roman Church, which during the centuries had grown to a position of great power in the economic and political as well as the religious life of the people. From the very beginning the Church had been closely allied with the Spanish Conquest. Indeed, Cortes himself seemed to look upon his expedition as a religious crusade as much as a military venture. On its own part, the Church depended upon the military strength of the conquerors to subjugate the people and win them to the faith. Mass baptisms were observed, where hundreds of people would be given the rite at one time. It goes without saying that many were not truly converted. They continued secretly to worship their Aztec gods, and the Church suffered from an infiltration of superstition and idolatry. Moreover, the Church itself was the recipient of huge grants of land and, through its own system of banking and mortgages, came into possession of yet more. While there were notable exceptions, the clergy too often became as oppressive as the Spanish nobles themselves, impressing labor, exacting tribute from the Indians, compelling them to build the magnificent churches and cathedrals that still dominate the landscape of Mexico. The traveler in Mexico today who passes through some little adobe village finds himself wondering at the size and magnificence of the church on the central plaza. How, he asks, could these people out of their poverty have built and furnished so elegant a temple of worship? The answer goes back to the days of church oppression when Mexico had its inquisition and the people suffered under the yoke of a dominant priesthood.

The growing power and authority of the ecclesiastical organization led at last to a conflict with the state, and in 1857, under the leadership of Benito Juarez, the Liberal Constitution was drafted, embodying laws directed against the special privileges of the established Church. This marked the first successful effort of the people to free themselves from ecclesiastical domination, a struggle which continues to this day.

A third form of oppression to which the people of Mexico have been subject is represented by the gradual centralization of land ownership which developed through a long period of years, beginning with the Spanish Conquest and extending into this century. There came to exist large hereditary estates or haciendas. Some of these had been handed down from generation to generation from the colonial period; others had been acquired by wealthy land barons and were constantly being augmented by the purchase of additional properties. What with three-fifths of the privately owned property in Mexico in the possession of the Church, and other vast tracts concentrated in the hands of a few powerful landowners, the people of Mexico had been largely dispossessed of the very soil on which they were dependent for their living. They were practically in a state of serfdom, and the population more and more took on the aspect of a large group of "hands" toiling under the oppression of a small group of super-landowners.

## The Revolt Against Tyranny

Such were the intolerable conditions out of which the modern Mexican Revolution (1910-1917) arose. The revolution should not be regarded as a mere change in government or administration in which rival political leaders "jockeyed" for power and position. It goes deeper than that. It represents the surge of the heretofore suppressed life of a nation, the instinctive clamor of a submerged people for the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A few years ago Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, noted authority on Latin American

affairs, called the Mexican Revolution "the most tremendous event on the American continent during the last two decades."

The main principles of the revolution directly reflected the oppressions under which the people had suffered. Nationalism, the anti-clerical movement, and agrarianism were the natural answer to foreign imperialism, a dominating Church, and a land aristocracy. True, the revolution swung to great extremes, and the pronounced leftist tendencies in social, economic, and religious matters must be deplored; nevertheless, one cannot but look with the deepest sympathy upon this struggle of a people to liberate themselves from forms of tyranny to which they have been subject for four hundred years.

The Constitution of 1917, drawn at Queretaro, embodied three chief aims: (1) To bring under the control of the government the widespread operations of foreign investors; (2) to limit the power of the established Church; and (3) to restore the lands to the people.

Of primary relevance from the standpoint of Christian Missions are the following provisions bearing on matters of religion:

1. Primary instruction must be secular. No religious corporation, nor any minister of religion, may establish or direct primary schools.
2. Public worship may be performed only in places designated by the government.
3. All churches are declared to be the property of the state.
4. Ministers and clericals of foreign birth are prohibited from exercising the functions of the clergy in Mexico.

The extreme character of such regulations has led some to ask whether, after all, Mexico's revolution has found the formula for ending tyranny. It has been suggested that perhaps the revolution has succeeded in displacing a totalitarian church only by substituting for it a totalitarian state, which may prove to be merely another link in the long chain that has shackled the liberties of the Mexican people. Some are wondering whether a revolution to break the revolution may be necessary.

On the whole, however, Protestant leaders in Mexico are inclined to regard the revolution, despite its excesses, as a definite improvement

over the evils against which it has fought and which it was designed to correct.

### The Rise of the Evangelical Movement

Protestant or evangelical mission work was begun in Mexico by the principal denominations of the United States about the year 1870 during the administration of President Benito Juarez when already the Reform Laws had been adopted that were designed to curb the power of the established Church. Intimation came from various Mexican liberals, including the President himself, that the Protestants would be welcomed in Mexico. The Presbyterian Church in the United States entered the field in 1874 and has since been making her continuous contribution, together with other evangelical groups, to the evangelization of Mexico. Our work was begun in the northern part of the country just south of the Rio Grande, but in 1914, under a comity arrangement between the several denominations for the delimitation of areas of work in Mexico, our Church was assigned new territory south and west of Mexico City, including the entire States of Michoacan and Guerrero, half the State of Mexico, and two thirds of the State of Morelos, the total field embracing a population of approximately 2,250,000. The work in the north, from which our Mission withdrew in 1919, had gained such momentum that it has continued through the years on a self-supporting and self-propagating basis, and today constitutes the National Frontier Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Mexico.

The evangelical churches of Mexico have a combined communicant enrollment of approximately 50,000. These are scattered over the country in hundreds of little congregations. On the whole the membership is made up of people of the humbler class. They worship in modest buildings which are in keeping with the level of life of the masses of the people, and are in sharp contrast to the magnificent cathedrals of the established Church which dominate the landscape. The interiors of the Protestant churches are simple and unadorned, sometimes almost rigid in their bareness, revealing the deliberate deter-

mination of the people to break clean from the images and idolatries with which the traditional Church has been associated in Mexico.

There is a warm evangelistic fervor that characterizes the worship and services of the evangelical group. It is reflected in the preaching, which is directed toward the winning of men to Christ, in the hymns that are sung and the prayers that are offered, in the zeal for personal work revealed by Mexican Christians, and in the outpost Sunday schools and preaching points which every Mexican pastor maintains in addition to the work of his own pulpit. It is the zeal characteristic of a church in its pioneer stage, when it is struggling to gain a foothold, when it feels its existence still to be insecure, when it is accorded neither position nor recognition, and before it has developed the dominance that can so easily lead to formalism and stagnation.

Despite the emergent character of the Protestant Church in Mexico, it already wields an influence far out of proportion to the size of its membership. In many ways it has commended itself to the thinking people of the country. For though its rolls include relatively few of the so-called intellectuals, the evangelical Church stands for freedom of thought and enlightenment, in contrast to the superstition and ignorance that have so widely prevailed. Moreover, the Protestant churches are championing the selfsame individual liberties for which the masses of Mexico are contending, and there is an insistence upon high standards of Christian character, integrity, and truth which commends itself to men of honest mind.

### Missions Under the New Constitution

Naturally, the evangelical churches have found their work impeded by the provisions of the constitution of 1917, though the strictures were not aimed primarily at Protestant activities. It has been impossible to continue formal school work under the new regulations, though this disability has not proved as serious as might be expected and ways have been found by which the actual work of training the leadership of the Mexican Church could be continued.

Fortunately, the constitutional rules do not prohibit the giving of theological instruction, provided this is done inside the church. It has been possible, therefore, to maintain our Seminary in Mexico City without interruption, the classes being held in a church building in the suburbs of the city.

Opportunity has been found, also, for the development of courses of religious instruction in the homes of the missionaries. The Mexican law jealously protects the rights and freedom of the individual within his own private residence. Missionaries have been taking advantage of this fact to gather students around them in their own dwellings, providing room and board for them there, thus establishing a sort of paternal relationship under which the young people are regarded as members of the household. As such, they may receive religious instruction without interference. Informal Bible schools of this type are being maintained at Zitacuaro, Toluca, and Tixtla, with a small group of students at each place residing with the missionary or the national worker under whom the instruction is given. Classes are held in the church buildings.

Hostels or student homes are also being used most effectively on a somewhat similar plan. These homes are presided over by Mexican Christian leaders or missionaries, and are in the nature of dormitories where the students live while they attend the public schools for their classes and instruction. Religious influences are thrown around the young men and women through the regular observance of family prayers, the asking of the blessing at meals, by personal contacts between the young people and their guardians, as well as through regular attendance at the service of the local church.

A full schedule of religious educational work is also maintained through the Sunday Schools, Christian Endeavor Societies, the Woman's Auxiliaries, Institutes, meetings of presbyteries, presbyterials, conventions, camps, and Vacation Bible Schools.

Fortunately, the provisions of the constitution have not seriously interfered with evangelistic work. It is true that foreign ministers are forbidden to exercise the functions of the clergy in Mexico, but

these clerical functions are construed strictly as the holding of a pastoral relationship to a congregation and the administering of the sacraments, while the chief work of our missionaries, that of preaching, is not regarded as a distinctively clerical exercise. This leaves missionaries free to do personal work, to preach in the churches where there is a Mexican minister to do the official presiding, and to offer fellowship and counsel to the emerging groups and congregations.

All church properties are, under the constitution, the property of the government. This has led in some instances to most unusual developments. Take, for example, the case of the largest Presbyterian Church in the country, Divino Salvador, in Mexico City. This great congregation of more than a thousand members formerly had its own church building. Under the laws of 1917 the title to the property passed into the hands of the government. A few years ago the church was torn down by the government in order to carry through certain civic improvements in the city of Mexico; whereupon, by way of compensation, the officials gave the congregation a large unused cathedral, as they were free to do on the principle that all church properties belong to the state. The visitor to this Presbyterian congregation is seldom able to suppress some expression of shock and surprise as he enters the church building and is met by the elaborate ecclesiastical architecture in such contrast to the usual simplicity of Presbyterian houses of worship.

### Religious Persecution

While the government is showing a fine equity in dealing with Protestantism and in protecting the rights of religious minorities, instances of religious persecution by fanatical groups of Romanists are not uncommon. One case has been so vividly described in a recent communication from Mexico that the account is herewith quoted in full:

> "The various evangelical congregations of the Republic of Mexico are represented in a national organization of Christians, which annually holds in some centrally located church its National

Evangelical Convention, to which delegates are sent from far and near. Thousands of the members of the evangelical churches attend the inspiring sessions of this Convention, and many others of the non-evangelical elements are drawn to investigate the power of the Christian religion because of the well-planned programs which are presented.

"On July 9 (1946), the National Convention met in Toluca, State of Mexico, with a large group of delegates from all parts of the country present, together with the members of the congregation of the Presbyterian Church there. It was an impressive group, from all reports, and one met for the sole purpose of Christian fellowship and inspiration. Realizing the fanatical element of the non-Christian peoples of that section of the country, the leaders of the National Convention presented themselves, in advance, before the state authorities bearing the official greeting of the Convention and its gift to the governor of the State of Mexico—a Bible. The governor, much impressed at this gesture in the name of the evangelical group, received very cordially this group of representatives, and expressed interest in the proposed meeting.

"However, the Catholic priests of the region were not so easily convinced of the necessity of the meeting. For many Sundays prior to the date of the Convention, they had been preaching to their followers that this group would meet for the sole purpose of petitioning the government that the Catholic churches be closed, and that they, the true defenders of the faith, must put forth every effort to see that they were defeated in that purpose. To this end they summoned their peoples that they present themselves to rout the assembled evangelicals, in the name of their saints. Nevertheless, in spite of the eloquent appeals of the priests, the educated peoples of the city of Toluca refused to be swayed to radical action, and they were forced to seek the ignorant peoples of the neighboring villages, inciting them to act as their tools in this 'war on Protestantism.'

"Our delegates to the Convention report that from the first moment of meeting, the Catholic Church of the vicinity began a constant din of bell-ringing, such that at times the special music and sermons could not be heard by the congregation assembled in the sessions of the Convention. In addition, each night from the first on, an increasing throng milled about in the streets in front of the Presbyterian Church, shouting insults, chanting popular songs in raucous tones, creating such a din that even with the help of the public-address system which had been installed to assist the congregation to hear the programs, those attending were unable to hear all of the proceedings.

"The anticipatory visit to the governor of the State had, meanwhile, brought results, and in an unexpected form. Entirely without request on the part of the Evangelical Convention, a military guard was stationed without the host church on each night of the week's meeting as a precautionary measure, and on the last night, Sunday, July 14, when the tension of the angry multitudes had reached a fever pitch, and a clash was expected, a squad of firemen with all their equipment were sent by the local authorities in addition to the redoubled soldier guard. Mexico is truly endeavoring to maintain a democratic government where religious liberty is upheld.

"On this last Sunday night, as I have said, the mob had reached the zenith of its frenzy. A parade of the thousand or more delegates to a near-by park where a simple patriotic service was held, had been accompanied, unsolicited by the Convention, by a military escort, and had only served to heighten the furor of the Catholic leaders, determined as they were to see the end of the 'Protestant folly.' Thus as the hour of the closing service drew near, the seething crowds, armed with their daggers, stones, clubs, and any other weapons which might be at hand, took their places outside the church, eager for the destruction of the worshipers within. As they approached the door, bent on entering, the fire department was ordered to aim its hose at the front lines

in order to detain their forward march. The mob, having supposed that the fire department had come to defend them instead of to rout them, shouted now oaths of insult, denouncing their stupidity, and calling upon them to fire upon the real enemy inside the building. It was finally necessary for the military guard to discharge tear-gas bombs into the crowd to make them withdraw angrily from the scene.

"You are surely saying, 'And what of the congregation inside the Presbyterian Church? Were the delegates now thoroughly frightened and willing to leave their "heretical Protestantism"?' Not in the least. The Spirit of the Living God was present with power in that group. Not one left his seat nor showed signs of panic. As shots rang out in the night air, and the shouts of the multitudes grew louder and more profane, the leader of the evening quietly requested that the congregation kneel in prayer. While the tempestuous furor of fanaticism reigned without, silence reigned within. The peace of God, which surpasses all power of thought, was a garrison to guard their hearts and minds in Christ Jesus. What a glorious witness to the strength of the Almighty! What a challenging experience in the life of the Evangelical Church in Mexico!

"On the following morning, the leaders of the Protestant group, together with the Catholic priest of Toluca, were summoned to appear before the mayor in order that the former might present a legal case against their persecutors. However, much to the surprise of the authorities, they refused to bring charges, stating that their only hope was that religious liberty be always guaranteed to all groups. The mayor, speaking to the assembled group, then said: 'I, who am a Catholic, am ashamed of the behavior of the Catholic Church on this occasion, and greatly admire the humble spirit and calm assurance of the Evangelical Convention. Because of his unseemly conduct in inciting the disturbance which we have witnessed in these days, I hereby fine

the Catholic priest in the sum of 5,000 pesos, and warn him against future infringements upon the rights of the citizens of this community.' Once again we witness the whole armor of God, worn by His followers to defeat the forces of evil and superstition."

As the foregoing incident reveals, the Roman Church is still an aggressive force in Mexico. This was dramatically illustrated in the gathering of thousands of Catholics last year in Mexico City to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the crowning of Guadalupe, the patron saint of the country. This celebration was attended by the Canadian cardinal as the official representative of the Pope and by more than threescore archbishops, bishops, priests, and prelates, both foreign and Mexican. Crowds estimated at 300,000 were present at some of the meetings. In a nation-wide hookup, the Congress was addressed by the Pope. The Virgin of Guadalupe was proclaimed patron saint, not only of Mexico but of all the Americas, including the United States. There was much enthusiasm, and the celebration was regarded by Catholics everywhere as a great push ahead for the Church.

Commenting on this celebration and its effects, a recent missionary letter gives the following interesting observations:

"The reaction to the celebration on the part of many of the people of the country was far from favorable. One of the most clear and forceful voices raised against the whole affair was that of the editor of TIEMPO (Time), the most representative of all the weekly papers of the country. While the other great papers, especially the dailies, were going out of their way to advertise and endorse the celebration as a great event for the good of the country, this brave and patriotic citizen came out boldly in a strong editorial denouncing it all as a great and tragic hindrance to the progress of the country toward freedom and brotherhood and democratic ideals. As he looked on the pomp and pride,

long-drawn-out ceremony and elaborate ritual, worldly glory and outward adornment; and as he heard from the lips of the orators, including those of the Pope himself, words which raised Mary (the most blessed to be sure of all mothers—but only a human mother) above her Divine Son, calling her the 'Queen of Heaven,' the 'Omnipotent Suppliant' (intercessor), 'the Universal Mediator' and 'throne of wisdom,' of whom the 'fatherland was born' and who 'will save America and Mexico,'—when he heard these words and observed the acts of prelates and people he entitled the leading editorial the following week in TIEMPO 'A Week of Idolatry.' Inspired by this editorial and taking the words as their own, a large company of representative men met at a dinner in the largest banquet room in Mexico City, and launched a movement to establish a daily paper which is to be the organ through which men of liberal ideas and patriotic sentiments may lead the people out of fanaticism and superstition into liberal and democratic ideals. There were leading Protestant laymen at the dinner, but the movement is entirely apart from the evangelical cause. However, the men in the movement are of open mind, and Christ enters open minds. The movement can be called an ally in that it helps to create a favorable atmosphere in which to work and makes persecution on the part of the enemies of Christ and His Gospel more difficult.

"Besides this, in the Evangelical Church itself, there have been favorable results from the celebration. There was so much in it all that was so far removed from the teaching and spirit of Christ, and from what His followers should be, that some good Catholics are turning to the Protestant Church for spiritual comfort and salvation. Seven such families have gone to one of the Protestant churches alone as a direct result of the celebration. If full reports could be secured, no doubt the same would be found to be true of other churches. The Bible Agency reports an increased sale of Bibles due directly to the Catholic celebration.

"Now there is not a mass movement into the evangelical faith in Mexico, but there is a movement toward that faith. Christ is being preached and lived and there is a continued stream of people who accept Him as Lord and Saviour. And the churches are by all means possible attempting to give the Gospel to all of the people, and to train in the Christian life those who accept Christ as their Lord and Saviour."

### The Outlook for Protestantism

On the positive side, there is much in the present situation in Mexico that is reassuring. The Mexicans are by nature religious. The anti-clerical trends that have been visible during the past few years must not be interpreted as signifying any wholesale repudiation by the people of things religious and spiritual. Rather, they represent a protest against abuses in the realm of ecclesiasticism, and there is every reason to believe that the final result will be a new appreciation of true spiritual religion. There has already been a definite reaction away from the extreme leftist tendencies of the revolution, with the result that a more moderate and equitable attitude toward the Church is now in evidence.

The peculiar combination of circumstances that has brought about the present situation in Mexico has placed the evangelical Church—and, I believe, particularly the Presbyterian Church—in a position of special advantage. Protestantism is dissociated from the history and experience of oppression under which the Mexican people have suffered. The Church is simple and small; it does not aspire to political power; there is no hierarchy. The Church exists primarily among the poorer classes and is not associated with class or aristocracy. The Presbyterian Church, particularly, because of its democratic form of government and its emphasis on individual liberty, is more likely to find itself in favor with a people who are now traditionally chary of too much centralized authority. The policy of the Protestant missionary societies to transfer autonomy and control at the earliest possible moment to the national church groups, so

that final authority is vested within the country, is in keeping with the natural bent of mind of the Mexican people today. Most of all, the simplicity, sincerity, and genuineness of the Protestant Christian constituency commend themselves to a people who have wearied of too much ostentation and formalism.

### Planning Ahead

In Mexico, as in the case of Brazil, plans for the future include an immediate strengthening and expansion of our training institutions. The Mexican Protestant churches report membership increases of forty-five per cent during the last three years, and the development of the Church is running ahead of the capacity of the training centers to provide ordained and lay leadership for the emerging groups. Approximately $100,000 has been invested by the Presbyterian Church in the United States during the past two years in the expansion of our training program in Mexico, and the greater part of this sum is being used to strengthen two vital institutions: The Presbyterian Theological Seminary, and the Bible School for Women, both in Mexico City. This is a good beginning, but it is hardly more than that. A further broadening of our whole teaching service is urgently needed to supply the growing demand of the Mexican Church for trained men and women.

There must be, too, a more significant contribution to the field of Christian literature. This is regarded by many as the most vital need of our whole Latin American work in this day. An avid taste for reading is characteristic of the educated people of Mexico; yet the available evangelical literature is wholly inadequate in variety and supply. Our own mission in Mexico has been greatly aided by the magnificent Birthday Gift of the Woman's Auxiliary which has provided the financial foundation for a considerable literature program, but the chief problem at present is to find the creative authorship that is needed. There are a few able pens, but their number is too small and one of the pressing needs before the evangelical bodies today

is to increase the talent, native and foreign, that will devote itself to the production of literature.

Plans also contemplate a material reinforcement of our missionary personnel. The Presbyterian Church, U. S., now has the largest evangelical Mission in Mexico, but a considerable contingent of new missionaries should be sent out at once to make possible the comprehensive program of work that has been mapped out for the years ahead.

Probably the most significant plan of advance work is the well-conceived Progressive Program of the Mexican Presbyterian Church in which the two Presbyterian Missions are co-operating. This movement, designed to continue for six years, 1942-47 inclusive, contemplates an intensification of every phase of the Church's life and activity. The following are the more important items in the goals for the six-year period:

1. To deepen the spiritual life of the believers.
2. To double the number of church members. (There are now about 20,000 adult church members in the Synod.)
3. To treble the number of ordained ministers. (There are now 56.)
4. To organize 100 new churches.
5. To erect 50 church buildings.
6. To open spiritual retreats.
7. To open four new medical centers.
8. To advance in rural evangelism.
9. To double the circulation of the religious periodicals.
10. To organize a General Assembly.

One cannot but express admiration for the vision and faith of the Mexican Church as demonstrated in this comprehensive program of advance for the glory of Christ. The year 1946 has been designated "The Year of Supreme Effort," and is to climax the splendid achievements of the past five years during which the Church has experi-

enced a vital deepening of its spiritual life and has made significant progress toward the attainment of its special objectives.

Now is the time in Mexico. The nation is breaking with many of her old traditions. The new President-elect is the son of a Protestant family. New life is stirring in the emerging Protestant churches. A fervor of evangelism is sweeping through the Christian community. Vast areas of the country await the preaching of the Gospel message.

Mexico needs the service of Protestant missions. She must be given an interpretation of Christianity that her people, high and low, can respect. Mexico has not repudiated Christ, though unquestionably she has expressed her dissatisfaction with the ecclesiasticism in which Christianity has been shrouded. The challenge is before us as never before to present the Son of God in all of His winning and saving grace. He is the one hope for Mexico, even as He is the Hope of the World. We shall carry on in our spiritual mission to these warmhearted neighbors across our southern border. God grant that this mission may be fulfilled in such Christlikeness of spirit and with such understanding of the yearnings and sufferings of a long-abused people that these who have felt the tyranny of trampling feet through so many generations may be able to say of the messengers of the Gospel, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace."

*Chapter IV*

# CHINA AT THE CROSSROADS

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, writing from China during the war, said, "It would bankrupt the English language to describe the sorrow, suffering, hunger, and bitter agony found on every hand." No people, victor or vanquished, endured a more cruel fate than did the Chinese during the long, exhausting struggle that came to an end in August, 1945.

## Dislocation and Devastation

The wholesale migration of China's population to the West, caused by Japan's invasion of the eastern provinces, has been described as the greatest mass movement of humanity in all history. It is estimated that more than 60,000,000 people joined in the great trek to China's interior. Imagine approximately one-half of the population of the United States suddenly leaving the regions of the Atlantic seaboard and moving hundreds of miles across the country to the plateaus and mountains of the West!

The part of China from which this unprecedented evacuation took place was the richest and most highly developed section of the whole country, where before the war were situated China's chief industries, her government, her schools, her great cities, her railways, indeed the heart and center of her national life. Among the crowds who walked the dusty trails to the West went the choicest leadership of the country—businessmen, educators, lawyers, doctors, statesmen—men who were lovers of freedom, unwilling to submit to the domination of the invaders. With them they carried all that was movable of the life and institutions that were dear to them. The government

was taken from Nanking to Chungking; factories were dismantled in Shanghai and Tientsin, only to appear again in the far western province of Szechwan; even schools, abandoning their former sites, sought haven within the safety of the western hills, and thousands of Chinese youth in quest of knowledge and freedom followed their teachers to strange and unknown scenes. The plight of these crowds of refugees, old and young, rich and poor, was unspeakably pitiable. Driven by panic and fear, staggering under the heavy load of their possessions, they swarmed the routes of travel, often without any sure knowledge of where they were going, realizing only that they could not stay where they were. Thousands died along the way, families became separated, children were lost, and the anguish of heartache was added to the misery of physical suffering. Many arrived at their journey's end with no place to stay, footsore, exhausted, sick, without prospect of work or of food.

It is easy to understand why government and industry had to be moved from enemy-occupied territory if they were to continue to serve the interests of the nation in time of war; but some have been disposed to ask why it was necessary for colleges and universities to migrate into Free China. The answer is to be found in the Japanese conception of education. Schools were regarded primarily as instruments for the inculcation of partisan ideals, tools for producing political results. The invaders therefore undertook to employ Chinese education to this end in the areas that came under their control, suppressing or destroying every institution that would not conform. Thus, to save China's schools, and to keep them out of reach of Japanese exploitation, the migration of these cultural institutions to the West became imperative.

Painful as was the plight of those who made the long journey inland, even greater agonies were endured by those who remained behind. The brutality of the military, especially during the earlier years of the war, shocked the whole world. Murder, arson, and rape followed in the wake of the Japanese army. Seldom have the excesses of sadism reached such a degree, for example, as in the sack

of Nanking, where the Japanese soldiery seemed almost to have exhausted their ingenuity in the devising of new refinements of torture. Added to this was China's own "scorched earth" policy, by which she sought to destroy every useful thing that might fall into enemy hands.

It was to be expected that the Chinese Church would share in the grievous sufferings of the general population in the occupied areas. Indeed, there were reasons why the invaders were particularly interested in the Church. They recognized in it a cultural institution exercising a considerable influence in the life of the community. Here was something that could be turned to their own advantage if only the Church organization and leadership could be exploited to serve the interests of Japanese propaganda and to conform to the "made in Japan" mold. The Church, therefore, suffered both spiritual and physical oppression. Realizing that the strongest moral resistance to their program of aggression would arise from the consciences of Christian men and women, the invaders determined either to dominate the Church by force and intimidation or, where this failed, to disperse it by ruthlessness and cruelty. Scores of church buildings were burned. Groups of believers were scattered. Congregations were depleted of their young men who were fighting with the guerilla armies, and church life was often maintained only through the loyal devotion of women and little children and a few feeble old men. The economic life of the Church was undermined by the disruption of normal business. Farmers were required to turn over their crops to the Japanese for less than they had to pay for their own food. Pastors, unable to depend any longer on their impoverished people for support, turned to business pursuits to keep the wolf from the door. How the Chinese Church survived during these terrible days, we are beginning to understand only now that the war is past and the stories of heroism and devotion that lay behind the struggle are coming to light.

Dr. R. J. McMullen gives the following account of the tragic experience of a small Christian congregation near the city of Hangchow:

"The Church at Chiaos, just outside of Hangchow, had been built by the members of the congregation, most of whom were farmers and none of whom had any wealth. They loved their church, and though it was very modest indeed, to them it was as wonderful as any cathedral. When the Japanese armies attacked this area the Christians gathered in their church. They closed its doors and knelt in prayer. The town changed hands several times during that terrible day. Finally the Chinese withdrew across the river. The Japanese broke in the door of the church and lined up the men. Three broke and ran; one of these was killed, two escaped. The other men of the congregation were mowed down by machine gun fire in the presence of their women and children. Then the church was burned. It would doubtless stagger the faith of many of us to have an experience of this kind. Surely we would wonder where was our God of love who cared for His own and answered their prayers. These simple country people went back to their mud huts and on the following Sunday the widows and orphans gathered their neighbors in their homes and sang praises as they worshiped their Father in Heaven."

Equally as drastic as the physical effects of war was the injury to the spirit and sensibilities of the Chinese people. The "broken mind" of China should awaken within us as strong a response of sympathy as the "broken bodies" of the millions who endured the ravages of war. Dr. Chester Miao vividly describes the psychological reactions of the people in the following terms:

"Fear was burned into us—fear of the Japanese, of starvation, of imprisonment, of death.

"Hatred grew in our lives. In Free China this was not forced upon you, but here where the Japanese were all around us—

and over us—we gradually grew to hate. We hated the Japanese, their interpreters and employees, their puppets.

"Suspicion was almost like the air; you breathed it. You came to suspect everyone and everything—your friends, your fellow-workers, the newspapers, radio. We still do, and this is true inside the church as well as outside.

"There was a widespread ethical breakdown. Low wages and rising costs of living led to thievery and graft. You found this condition among servants, police, officials, children on the street, women, business and professional men. Lying became an approved practice; deceit of the enemy was patriotic. Too, there was so much suffering, so many deaths, that our estimate of the value of human life became lower than ever before."[1]

These devastations, physical, mental, and moral, that the war has brought upon the people of China have been especially marked in the area of our own Presbyterian China Missions, which caught the full brunt of the Japanese invasion. Lying along the eastern seaboard and embracing the populous provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang, every station of our work was under occupation. No Mission in all China suffered more drastically, and none is confronted by a more gigantic task of restoration in the postwar years that are upon us.

### Assessing the Situation

Such is the China to which our missionaries are returning after five long years of waiting. The immediate task before us is one that requires a careful balancing of the elements of urgency and caution. China has undergone a cataclysmic experience. The first impulse to rush back and re-establish our work along former lines must be restrained by a calmer discretion until there has been opportunity to assess the new situation and outline an appropriate strategy of work. With this in mind, the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions has sent to the field a relatively small group of hand-picked men and women, veterans of our China service, who have spent the past six

months in a careful survey of our whole Mission projection. They have visited every station, estimating the damage that has been done, encouraging the Chinese Christians, studying the needs of the new day, and outlining plans that will insure the wisest use of the resources that our Church has to contribute toward the Christianization of this great land. Other missionaries are now being sent over as fast as houses can be repaired to receive them, and in such numbers as the resources of our Foreign Mission work will permit. Already, thirty-one men and women are on the field.

In the meantime, a considerable work is under way. Early reports indicate that Chinese Christians came through the tragic days of the war with wonderful fortitude, and that many of our Mission activities have been sustained throughout the period of conflict by these Chinese themselves in the complete absence of missionary leadership and financial aid. Hospitals have continued to serve the suffering people, notwithstanding the destruction of their physical installations and the scarcity of drugs; schools have been maintained in improvised quarters, in some instances with a large increase in attendance; churches and chapels have kept on with their regular services, with congregations assembling in private homes or in the shattered remains of their houses of worship. A new initiative and self-reliance is evident among the Chinese Christian leaders, and the drastic losses of the war have been measurably offset by significant gains that relieve the darker facets of the picture. Here, for example, is a description of the present condition of the work in Hangchow Presbytery, one of the more favorable situations that our missionaries have found on their return:

> "Presbytery statistics show 13 ordained pastors now compared with 9 before the war. Men and women evangelists bring the total number of church workers up to about 40. There are 75 elders compared with 78 in 1936, and 106 deacons compared with a former figure of 85. The number of organized central churches is now 17 compared with 16 ten years ago; the number

of branch churches has increased from 35 to 43. A total of 1,020 have been received by baptism and letter since 1936, bringing the total number of communicant members in the Presbytery to 3,735—1,464 men and 2,152 women—as compared with 3,031 in 1936. There have been 151 child baptisms. Sunday School membership has declined from 1,527 to 1,166; primary school pupils have increased from 607 to 1,231. Church member contributions between 1937 and 1945 amounted to CRB (puppet currency) $26,799,107. It is difficult to figure the equivalent of this in CNC or US currency; there was a definite increase, however, in giving throughout the Presbytery. Many pastors were paid in rice as well as money. Some church workers had to take on other work besides their church service."[2]

The missionaries themselves are busily engaged in the resumption of evangelistic and institutional work, as well as in programs of relief designed to lighten the weight of poverty and suffering around them. One of them, Dr. R. P. Richardson, is serving with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Authority as the Director of the entire work of that organization in the densely populated province of Kiangsu with its twenty millions of people. Others are in charge of relief activities in the various districts where they live. Overwhelming opportunities face our missionaries, both for the direct presentation of the Gospel message and for the practical expression of Christian charity through physical help.

### Tomorrow's Prospects and Promise

The most staggering of all the responsibilities that we face today in missions concerns the future of Christian work in China. How can we state strongly enough the overwhelming challenge of this one great country! China is destined to play a major role in world affairs in this postwar time. Great issues are being settled there, the echoes of which will be heard far beyond the limits of Asia or of the Pacific. China has been our friend and ally; her soldiers and ours have fought

together on the battlefield; she aspires to the same principles of liberty and democracy for which our nation stands; many of her great leaders are committed to Christian faith and ideals; her people are more friendly than ever before to the missionary and to the message that he preaches. Never has there been a time that seemed so propitious for pressing the claims of Christ upon the Chinese people!

Now that the war is over we shall doubtless see a tremendous expansion of China's influence and power. Here is a nation of amazing possibilities, with the largest reservoir of manpower in the world, and with vast stores of the earth's riches and raw materials waiting to be developed. With all that China has learned through her war experience and with the great advances that she has made in scientific and technological knowledge, it is impossible to estimate the almost unlimited powers that this nation might develop within the space of a generation.

But what if this new China should emerge into the international life of tomorrow without adequate spiritual controls? Suppose China should go communistic! Suppose the strong grip that Christian ideals have upon her life now should be lost, and China, gloating in her success and power, should go militaristic! Such a China, drunk with the sense of her own might and unrestrained by the moral and spiritual forces of a true faith, might easily run amuck in the world and present a menace in comparison with which the militarism of Japan would be only a mild threat.

On the other hand, if this great China, with the stirrings of her new life already manifest, could be brought to the feet of Christ, what limit would there be to the leadership that she might exercise for righteousness and truth in the world of tomorrow!

From the Christian point of view, there are elements of great hope and promise as we look at the future of China:

1. Consider the extent to which China's leadership is in Christian hands. This must be regarded definitely as one of the most striking spiritual phenomena of the day. The total number of Christians, Protestant and Catholic, is estimated at 4,000,000. This means that

the ratio of Christians to the total population is one in one hundred. Notwithstanding this unimpressive minority position that Christianity holds, it has become a force to be reckoned with in Chinese life. One need only call the roll of China's top-flight men and women in order to be reminded again of the astonishing place that Christianity has gained in the affairs of the nation. Beginning at the top with Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Christians occupy an amazing number of the important portfolios of state. It was recently stated that out of twenty-two major positions in the government of China, fourteen are now being held by professing Christians. It is said that one out of every three persons named in China's "Who's Who" is either a Christian or the graduate of a Christian school. Moreover, the quality of China's Christian leadership is attested by the opinion, expressed by more than one competent observer, that there is no government in all the earth more strongly motivated by the spirit and principles of Christ than the government of China.

Not at the top merely, but down through the whole fabric of Chinese life, the Christian influence is clearly seen. Bishop W. Y. Chen of the Methodist Church of China gives this testimony:

> "There are a quarter million of alumni of Christian schools, many of whom are leaders in various walks of life. The Christian spirit and idea have penetrated the thought life of the nation. There is a widespread spiritual awakening. Faced with disillusionment, uncertainty, and frightful scenes of war and destruction of life and property, the Chinese are looking for something fundamental, permanent, and imperishable. The greatest interest taken by the people as a whole has been in Christianity."[8]

While recognizing the strength and prestige of China's great Christian leader, Generalissimo Chiang, enhanced as it is by his success in bringing China safely through the war crisis, it must be conceded, on the basis of purely human considerations, that Christianity's pres-

ent position of influence is a precarious one. We should regard every day of advantage that we now enjoy as a moment of heaven-sent opportunity. How quickly the picture could change! Some slight shift in political alignments, a reverse in China's national fortunes, some revival of civil or military jealousies within the government itself, or the further development of the menace of communism which at present is so ominously lifting its ugly head—any of these might bring a sudden end to the strange and significant opportunity that God has given His people to influence the life, thought, and destiny of a great nation.

2. A second favorable factor is found in the unique position that the missionary has come to occupy in the heart and affection of the Chinese. Mission boards in the United States are receiving importunate pleas from groups of Chinese Christians for the early return of missionaries in general and, by name, for particular individuals who have especially endeared themselves to the Chinese people.

A young student from China who has been studying in the United States expressed his feeling as follows:

> "The stock of the missionary was never so high in China as it is now."

Asked what it was that explained the new prestige enjoyed by the missionary, he replied:

> "I think it is because we have never had an opportunity until now to know what the stock of the missionary was worth. He was the first to come to our aid, and the last to leave. He has watched with us through the long night of our sorrow and suffering. Your delicate missionary ladies have not hesitated to get down on their hands and knees and to wash, with soap and water, the bodies of Chinese soldiers who for weeks have lain in the filth of their own wounds. They willingly undertook tasks that even our own people disdained. We shall never forget their kindness."

Little wonder that Madame Chiang has more than once exhausted the marvelous powers of her eloquence in paying tribute to the missionary. And Dr. H. H. Kung two years ago voiced the sentiment of the Chinese people as follows:

> "Many have come from the western countries to work in our lands in the spirit of Christian fellowship and service. They have shown the greatest courage, energy, and self-sacrificing spirit, especially in this time of trial and tribulation, trying to care for the sick and wounded, to relieve refugees and war sufferers, and to protect the innocent. Their spirit cannot but arouse admiration among our people and make them appreciate the cause for which these missionaries are ready to live and even to die."[4]

Missionaries have won high recognition, not only for their works of Christian service and charity, but for the valuable counsel that they have been able to give to government agencies during the period of crisis through which China has come. Dr. Frank W. Price was twice flown to the United States and back again to China at the personal request of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, once to serve as adviser to the Chinese Delegation at the San Francisco Conference in 1945. More recently, he has been asked to assist the Ministry of Education in China.

The warmth of feeling with which the missionary is regarded by his Chinese friends is reflected in the earnest appeal that recently came from Christian leaders at Sutsien in the Province of Kiangsu imploring the early return of Dr. William F. Junkin, veteran of our China forces, now retired and living in the United States. The message, quoted in part, was addressed to the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States as follows:

> "Your younger brethren, early in the sixth month welcomed the Survey Committee (the Committee of comfort and investigation!) to meet at Hsuchowfu, and discussed the future affairs of

the Chinese Church. We heard Mr. Lancaster, chairman of the meeting, report that the Rev. Dr. Junkin will not be able to return to China to continue his work. At hearing this we were overcome by alarmed surprise. Now we especially write this letter pleading that you gentlemen allow Dr. Junkin to return to settle the uncompleted affairs of our church for he has been in China almost fifty years. The people all have great respect for his ability to help and lead in Church and society. It truly is so that all who have mouths bear witness to this. Moreover, in our humble locality, after the destruction of war, we feel a great weakness of spiritual life, as a boat without its rudder, has nothing to direct it. Some say that Mr. Junkin is old and would not be able to travel in the country, but his spiritual power is full and rich. His experience is expert and deep. We hope that he may come to China and lead us, just as in a great drought the land looks for clouds and rain. If you say that he is of advanced age and he cannot again undertake such a mission, we little brethren would appreciate his effort to return because we consider it necessary that he come and lead us. The property of the Sutsien station has been fearfully wrecked, and the house that the Puppets by means of the power of the Japanese bought by force has not been paid for, the excuse being the money was frozen, and the property of private persons was looted completely. If he does not come who can settle this affair? If you send a new person he will not know how to manage this affair. The church, hospital and schools, the fruit of many years, are all to be swept away. It is all very sad. If it meets with your approval, please, for the sake of the glory of God and love of man and saving of property, approve our request. Even though he may not be able to stay seven or eight years, we hope he may stay at least two or three years."

3. We should recognize, also, the significance for Christian missions of what we might term the "felt needs" of China in the postwar

period. Here is a nation that has suffered the unrelieved agonies of eight years of war. As she looks out over her devastated land, how poignantly conscious she must be of the overwhelming task that confronts her in the days of reconstruction ahead.

Do we not have here the basis for a timely strategy in missions, not only in China but elsewhere, in the postwar period? Possibly we have erred in the past in that we have been disposed to adapt our missionary methods to the particular needs that we recognized, rather than those that were actually felt by the people we want to serve. It is possible, of course, that the felt needs of a people might not be those of greatest importance or urgency. Nevertheless, we would do well to consider the special entree that may be afforded for the Gospel from time to time when we can discover some conscious need and make our Christian approach through that channel.

A striking illustration of this principle is afforded in the appeal that has come from the National Health Administration of China to the Foreign Mission boards of North America for assistance in a comprehensive ten-year medical program which contemplates the training of 840,000 medical workers of all classes, the establishment of 859 new schools for the training of these workers, and the maintenance of 200 large health centers, 2,000 smaller health centers, and 80,000 county clinics or dispensaries.

The following direct inquiry has been addressed to the Foreign Mission Societies:

> "How many 50 bed hospitals will you be prepared to staff and operate? How many 100 bed hospitals? How many 250 bed hospitals? In what provinces, and in what localities, do you wish to operate such hospitals?"

Assurance is given that no restrictions will be placed on the conducting of Christian evangelistic work within the hospitals and that the National Health Administration stands ready to ask that the granting of passports be facilitated so as to allow medical personnel to proceed to China in larger numbers and without undue delay.

Here, then, is a direct call from China based upon the felt needs of the people. Instead of opposition, government resistance, or reluctant permission, we have invitation, protection, and co-operation. It will be necessary, of course, to ask what, precisely, will be the terms on which such assistance can be given to the National Health Administration. We must make sure that there are no involvements that would compromise the definite Christian purposes of our medical work. But it is significant that we have been offered by the Chinese government this wide-open opportunity to expand the scope of medical missions in that country.

Similarly, in the realm of education, China is urgently calling for help. She is keenly conscious of the fact that the reconstruction of the nation's life depends upon an adequate supply of trained leaders and that the means of producing them has been seriously curtailed by the destruction of a large number of her schools during the war. The Educational Ministry is, therefore, cordially soliciting the aid that missionary societies can give. A special door of opportunity, long closed to us, has recently been opened. For many years normal training has been excluded from the educational program of the Missions because the government has jealously insisted that this type of preparation must be free from religious influences. Word now comes that Christian institutions will be permitted to offer normal courses, thus training teachers for China's schools; also that religious instruction in the teacher-training curriculum will be allowed without interference. This is something for which we have long prayed. What greater opportunity could we desire than that of preparing, under Christian auspices and with full Bible instruction, the future teachers of the boys and girls of China!

The whole field of relief, likewise, offers an opportunity for service in the area of China's "felt needs." We have a chance here to win the heart of the people through a sacrificial demonstration of our Christian charity and sympathy. Investments that we make today through the War Relief Committee of our General Assembly may

open the hearts of thousands of Chinese to the Gospel and yield rich spiritual dividends in the years that are ahead.

4. Another factor of promise in the over-all situation in China is the widespread openheartedness toward Christianity that is evident on every hand. Professor Newton Chiang, who during five or six years of the war period in China traveled extensively over the country holding meetings among all classes of people, writes:

> "Everywhere I went I always found a large group speaking well of the Christian Church and eager to hear the Gospel. Everyone liked to have a Bible, many attended the Bible Classes, religious meetings, and Sunday services. The door is really wide open for Christianity in China."

Again, Dr. Chiang says:

> "Any Sunday morning at nine if you go to Hart College Union Service at Chengtu, West China, you will see the chapel full of college students and professors from six Christian and four government colleges, merchants, soldiers, country women, and government high officials. If you want to be sure to get a seat in church, you have to be there ten or twenty minutes earlier. The door is wide open."

And again:

> "I know so many officials in many different cities who have started family Prayer Meetings and little community fellowships (because no church is nearby). Even among the Chinese officials this door is wide open."

And Professor Chiang concludes:

> "Thus, you see, all over China the door is wide open."[5]

Dr. W. C. McLauchlin, writing from China on May 9, 1946, summarizes the opportunity that is ours in China as follows:

> "The challenge of our China field is great beyond expression, and the situation is exceedingly urgent, and NOW is the time

to use every force at our command to take advantage of the special opportunity that is ours."

### Difficulties and Dangers

No realistic picture of the contemporary missionary situation in China can overlook the difficulties and obstacles that are before us. In addition to the chaotic conditions that are the natural aftermath of war, there are at least three special problems that are of the greatest concern:

1. We must face the fact of the drastic devastation of mission and church property. No accurate estimate can yet be made of the full extent of the property damage that has been incurred. Of one thing we can be sure. When all the facts are known, the total loss will be staggering. Even in cases where buildings are still standing, undamaged by fire, they are frequently found to be mere empty shells with only walls and roof intact. Floors, window frames, staircases, and doors have been torn away and burned. Homes have been completely stripped of every valuable thing. Pictures have been snatched from the walls and trampled upon, furniture has been used for firewood, pianos have been broken to pieces for fuel and other uses, personal clothing has been appropriated by the looters, and more valuable possessions have been confiscated and shipped away. The personal losses of the missionaries constitute in themselves an aggregate item of considerable proportions. Probably all of our missionaries have lost something; many have lost everything.

Here is a summarized statement of the present condition of our Mission properties in China, condensed from the report of the initial inspection made by our China Survey Committee:

*HANGCHOW STATION*

*Hangchow Christian University*

Main buildings intact, but repairs needed on roofs, windows, doors, and floors.

Residences in deplorable condition—two burned, two usable, others mere shells.
Half of trees cut down.
Chapel in fairly good condition, pipe organ torn out.

*Union Girls' School*
Buildings intact and in fairly good condition, some repairs needed.

*Tien Swei Gyiao*
Church—only slight repairs necessary.
Bible School, Primary School buildings—badly damaged.
Three residences need some repairs.

*Tai Ping Lu Church*
Residence and S. S. room seriously damaged.
Church bell taken by Japanese.
Whole plant in need of repairs.

*Hsin Min Ze—Institutional Church*
Movable property and equipment all gone.

*Wu San Church*
Property in fairly good condition.

*KASHING STATION*

*Kashing High School*
Buildings intact but in bad need of repair and refurnishing—doors, windows, floors, and furniture removed.

*Kashing Christian Hospital*
Buildings intact, but large-scale repairs of floors, windows, doors, and roofs needed. Much equipment gone.

*North Gate Church*
Badly damaged; all woodwork torn out and benches gone.

*South Gate Church*
Burned.

*Institutional Church*
Building in fair condition, fairly furnished.

*Residences*
Much repair work needed.

*SOOCHOW STATION*

*Elizabeth Blake Hospital*
Sections of compound wall torn down.
Main ward of psychopathic hospital destroyed.
Entire western wing of main hospital destroyed.
Nurses' home destroyed.
Other buildings standing, but in bad repair.
Doors, windows, floor planks, gone.
Water tower and pump, damaged.
All equipment and furniture gone.

*Residences*
Only one in condition to be occupied.

*Soochow Tsing-tao Church*
Extensive repairs needed.

*DuBose Memorial Church*
Extensive repairs needed.

*KIANGYIN STATION* (was one of the finest mission plants in China)
Twenty-two out of twenty-five buildings completely destroyed.
Of the fine hospital property, only the doctors' and nurses' homes are left.
Of the Boys' and Girls' Schools, one 3-story building is standing.
Nothing left of Girls' School and Bible School.
All residences are gone.

*East Gate Church*

Building destroyed.

*San Kuan Chen Church*

Church building intact.

*Yun Ting Church*

All furniture gone—new church needed.

*North Gate Church*

Building intact.

*YENCHENG STATION* (in communist-controlled territory)

*Yencheng Hospital*

Building in very bad condition, windows, doors, frames, and floors gone, roof damaged.

Furnishings and equipment practically all gone.

*Residences*

Still standing but badly in need of repair; doors, windows, flooring, furniture, woodwork, practically all gone.

*Boys' School Compound*

Buildings badly mutilated; floors, stairs, windows, doors, and furniture practically all gone.

*Church Buildings*

Building intact but without doors, windows, and frames. In rather bad condition.

*TAICHOW STATION*

*Hospital*

Buildings in fair condition; rather extensive repairs necessary.

*Boys' School*

Main building in very bad condition.

*Girls' School*

Considerably damaged; wall broken down; six small Chinese buildings down.

*Residences*

On the whole in fair condition, but considerable repairs necessary.

*Central Church Building*

Considerably damaged.

*HAICHOW STATION*

*Hospital Compound*

On the whole in very good condition.

Doctor's residence in good condition except for natural deterioration and need of repairs.

*South Compound*

Schools and conference buildings require considerable repairs.

Residences standing but completely stripped of furniture, household goods; bathroom and cooking fixtures badly smoked, caked with filth, and in much need of repair.

*West Gate Church*

Entirely destroyed by Japanese bombs.

*City Church*

In fair condition, though damaged by Japanese bombs and never fully repaired.

*SUTSIEN STATION* (in communist-controlled territory)

*The Hospital*

A mere shell; windows, doors, frames, floors, and floor timbers practically all gone; a scene of desolation.

Equipment all gone.

Doctor's residence an empty shell, with all woodwork and furniture gone.

Entire water system gone.

*Boys' School*

Badly damaged and in need of repair.

*Girls' School*

Buildings in fair condition.

*Residences*

All standing but in bad condition; completely stripped of furniture, household goods, and in some instances of woodwork.

*City Church*

Considerably damaged; temporarily repaired after damage; walls cracked.

*TSINGKIANGPU STATION* (in communist-controlled territory)

*Hospital*

Buildings not greatly damaged except from ordinary deterioration.

Large light plant gone; small light plant still functioning.

Some equipment looted, including microscopes, beds, and the like.

*Schools*

Buildings badly damaged; flooring taken up and otherwise abused; extensive repairs necessary.

*Residences*

In rather bad repair, both from actual damage and from neglect; chief damage to floors, which have been taken out of several residences; no furniture or household goods left.

*HWAIAN STATION* (in communist-controlled territory)

*Girls' School*

Badly bombed by the Japanese and in very bad condition.

*Boys' School Buildings*

Completely destroyed.

*Residences*

In much the same condition as Tsingkiangpu, with floors torn out in some instances and extensive repairs necessary in every case.

NOTE: The above summary does not include the Stations of Chinkiang and Suchowfu, for which no concise reports have yet been received. General advice from the field, however, indicates that damage in these two stations has been less than in the others.

It will be observed that the above schedule covers only the damage suffered at our central stations. It does not include further extensive losses incurred in the outstation districts. Add to this the multiplied losses represented by the destruction of countless native churches, chapels, and pastors' residences in our whole China field, and one can begin to recognize the gravity of the physical hurt that has been done to our work in that country.

2. A second factor that should awaken the deepest concern on the part of the Church is the abnormal inflation that is greatly restricting our missionary activities. It is necessary that we face realistically the fantastic increase in the cost of living in China. It is not an exaggeration to say that the expense in terms of American dollars of maintaining a missionary in China is from four to six times as much as it was in normal, prewar days. The following quotation from a letter recently received from one of our China missionaries gives some idea of the prices that prevail:

"I went to my old tailor to see about a suit. In the past I have been able to buy a good suit of all wool clothes from him for $15 to $20 in U. S. money. When I worked out his price for the same kind of clothes now, it came to about U. S. $200. At most,

such a suit would cost from $35 to $50 in America. Then I tried shoe polish. A tin of shoe polish, which you can buy anywhere in the U. S. for ten cents, was selling for 65 cents up. A bottle of ink, which you get anywhere at home for ten cents, costs U. S. $2.00 up. Groceries run the same way, costing three, four, five, up to more than ten times what they cost at home. This is true of many Chinese products as well as imported things. For example, Chinese fruit is out of sight in price, and poor oranges sell for U. S. $1.00 to $1.25 per pound."[6]

Prior to the war, it was estimated that the cost of supporting a missionary in China was approximately $1,350 per year. Latest advice from the field indicates that we must now reckon on a minimum of $5,000 per annum for each missionary. This, of course, is not the missionary's salary; it is salary, plus the cost of maintaining his work in evangelism, education, or medical service, as the case may be.

The logic of these facts is perfectly clear. It will be impossible for more than one-fourth of our former China force to return to the field unless the Church can radically increase its contributions to Foreign Missions. The men and women who through five long years of watching and waiting have prayed for the reopening of China's doors will have to stay here, and the mighty stream of Christian compassion and service that ought to flow freely to China's millions will be reduced to a dry-weather rivulet. The issue is squarely before the Church. We are faced with an unprecedented test of the depth and reality of the Church's missionary conviction.

3. No obstacle confronting our missionary work in China today looms with more ominous portent than the rising threat of communism. If this conscience-less movement gains control, then God help China and the world! This is no figment of an overwrought imagination. The clash between the Nationalist Government and the communists in China, which was tacitly laid aside during the war with Japan, has been resumed with a vengeance; and even as these words are written our daily papers carry the forebodings of a terrible

struggle as communism has declared open war on the Nanking regime.

Our missionaries are under no delusions as to the imminent danger that confronts Christianity in China. Four of our seven stations north of the Yangtze River are in communist hands and have felt the unbridled ruthlessness of these haters of God and despoilers of the rights of men. Lacking the restraints either of morality or of religion, the unholy passion that drives this movement shows no moderation. It is doubtful whether the Church in its physical expression could survive the wanton fiendishness that would be let loose in China, especially upon the Christian population, if this new despotism gains control. It is a fact that damage, both to the body and to the spirit of the Church, has been heavier under communist terrorism than under the Japanese occupation. Witness these words which have recently come from China:

> "I did little else for weeks but receive callers, many of whom poured into my ears tales of woe about their sufferings under the communists. All agree that they have suffered more hardships under the communists since the Japanese surrender than in the eight years of war under the Japanese."

The crisis that looms in China is no sideshow. In the shadows behind the communist movement stands Russia lending her material and ideological support, while the sympathies of our own nation are undoubtedly with the central government, led as it is by men of high ideals and strong Christian impulse. This is not to characterize as a saint every official of Chiang Kai-shek's regime, but it is to recognize what has been growing clearer from hour to hour—that the issue between Christianity and communism has come to the draw in China. We can, if we wish, withdraw in cowardly retirement and leave the Chinese people to their fate, thus offering Russia an invitation that she will too gladly accept, to join with the communists in eradicating every outward trace of Christianity from the face of East Asia. We could do nothing that would more effectively expedite the reign of godlessness in the earth.

The alternative is grim, but it is the only course compatible with Christian courage and duty. It is to seek a peaceful solution and, failing in this, to throw the whole weight of our prestige and power on the side of liberty and right, whatever the cost. There is nothing Christian about standing aside and seeing a peace-loving people trampled under the heel of totalitarian aggression.

This is not a declaration of war. It is an expression of confidence that there is a power stronger than communism, the steadfast righteousness of a holy faith in the Living God, which even the hot breath of infidel fury cannot sear. It is ours to impart that faith to the Chinese people now, while there is yet time, for failing in this there will be hell to pay—and this is no profanity. The Christian conscience that stirs in the hearts of so many of China's leaders is the core of her defense against this new aggression. Here is a paramount challenge to missions.

### Problems of Readjustment

Any view of the present missionary situation in China must reckon, of course, with the overwhelming problems of readjustment that are involved. Indeed, these are so numerous and complex that it is impossible to foresee many of the questions that will arise. The first task of the missionaries has been to make a careful analysis of the new facts that confront them and to outline, on the basis of this study, a program for the future. Major adjustments will have to be considered in the following realms:

1. In the relation of the Mission to the Chinese Church. The war years have undoubtedly seen a significant development in the traits of initiative, leadership, and responsibility of the Chinese Christians themselves. Bereft of their missionary colleagues, the indigenous churches have been left to carry on their programs of work. The Christian community has risen in a splendid way to the requirements of this situation. Qualities of self-dependence have been manifested that might have required years to grow under normal conditions. All of this is gain, and no one rejoices more than the missionary himself

in the evidences of maturity that the Church has shown. He is prepared to recognize the progress that has been made and to accept for himself a place of less conspicuous service in the general scheme of Christian work.

However, for the sake of the Chinese Church itself, there is doubt as to the wisdom of proposals that have been made in this country looking toward a complete revision of Church-Mission relationships along the following lines:

> "That all Missions as such cease to function as organized bodies on the field;
>
> "That all foreign missionary personnel be 'pooled' and, together with their work, placed under the control and direction of the Chinese Church;
>
> "That the administration of schools, hospitals, and other types of work, together with all funds contributed by the Missionary Societies of the sending countries, be transferred to the native church, excepting only such funds as are for missionary salaries, housing, and health."

These measures are proposed, of course, on the principle of granting full self-determination to the Chinese Church. One is disposed, however, to challenge the conception of autonomy that is herewith reflected. Autonomy is not a *gift* to be conferred; it is rather a *state* into which one must grow. In the case of the Church this comes through developing full self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. Will it contribute to the self-support of the Chinese Church for large sums of money to be placed in its hands from year to year from the treasuries of Foreign Mission agencies of the United States and Britain? Will it foster self-government in the Church of China for hundreds of missionaries to be incorporated into its structure? One of the outstanding weaknesses of the Church in that land, in the opinion of many, is that missionary advisers have played too large a part in its administrative councils and directives. We need to set the Church free, to let it stand on its own feet and

struggle with its own burdens, and to grow into an autonomy that will be real, though not as comfortable or easy as the kind proposed.

Indeed, if a church has achieved the place where it is capable of directing the work of hundreds of missionaries and of administering a nation-wide program of educational and medical service, it is questionable whether such a church should any longer be regarded as a proper field for major foreign missionary assistance. Has not the time come when the missionary body should turn its eyes again to the vast untouched areas of China that wait to be developed, and let the Church grow in her physical and spiritual proportions by the essential discipline of providing for and directing her own life? This is not to say that temporary aid should not be given, in liberal amounts, to assist the Church in recovering from the ravages of war and establishing herself on her feet again. But the missionary enterprise must not forget its pioneer purpose, and the great unevangelized masses of China are still calling.

2. In the relation of the Mission to the government. The abrogation in 1943 of the so-called unequal treaties, involving the relinquishing of extra-territorial rights, naturally poses the question as to what the status of missionaries will be under such new agreements as may be drawn. The negotiations between our government and China provide that a new treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation, and consular rights should be entered into between the two governments at the request of either. This new treaty, whenever it may be drawn, will probably provide the basis for relations between the United States and China for many years to come and will be a significant document for the future of missionary activities in China. It is impossible at this date to anticipate the outlines of this treaty; but it is significant that in the "draft constitution" which the Chinese government two years ago asked its people to consider, with a view to its adoption after the war, the following article occurs:

> "Every citizen shall have freedom of religious belief. Such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law."[7]

Our best guarantee of the full protection of essential rights and liberties is in the manifestly friendly attitude of the government toward Christianity as expressed through its men in authority. Official agencies are asking for the co-operation of the Christian Church.

The whole question of mission-government relations has been well summarized by Mr. W. P. Mills in a study presented to the Committee on East Asia of the Foreign Missions Conference as follows:

> "It is clear that in the future the missionary enterprise in China will rest upon a legal foundation that is very different from that upon which it was formerly based. The greatest difference lies at this point. With abolition of extraterritoriality, future agreements with China must be made, as the old were not, on the basis of the full sovereignty of China within her own borders and equality and reciprocity in her relations with other nations. Now these new principles will require some readjustments in missionary thinking and ways of doing things, but they are nevertheless a better foundation for the future than the old 'unequal treaties' ever were, and we can rejoice that the change has at last been made."[8]

3. In the relation of missionaries to the people. One conviction that repeatedly finds expression among missionaries is that there is a need for the closer identification of themselves with the people. The reference is specifically to the segregation of missionary residences and activities in "compounds." As one spokesman expressed it,

> "Missionary compounds are ecclesiastical concessions, and they have no more place in the new China than have the other foreign concessions."

While all might not agree with the analogy, the conviction is widespread among missionaries that their everyday life must bring them into closer contact with the people among whom they serve. Many feel that the compounds tend to set the missionary community off, to emphasize its foreign character and retard the missionary's identifi-

cation in feeling and interest with the native population. While full allowance must be made for the convenience and efficiency that accrue from the grouping of missionary schools and hospitals and residences on the same campus, it is felt that much more would be gained than lost if these activities were dispersed in different parts of the community and the missionaries were found resident in homes of simple design among the people themselves.

### Outstanding Goals and Objectives

Among the paramount needs that confront us as we resume our Christian service to the Chinese people, the following stand out:

1. The need of an adequate rehabilitation fund. It is not contemplated, of course, that the missionary societies of North America will attempt to reconstruct China! This will be a stupendous task requiring the prodigious resources of governments, supplemented by organized Christian charity. Bishop W. Y. Chen, Executive Secretary of the National Christian Council of China, summarizing a statement by President Chiang Kai-shek, expressed it as follows two years ago:

> "The task of material rehabilitation and reconstruction will be taken up by the Chinese government and relief agencies. The spiritual rehabilitation and construction will fall on the church."[9]

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States has authorized the raising of a sum of $1,000,000 for the Christian reoccupation of the Far East, the major part of which will be expended in China. Of this fund, $640,000 has already been contributed. However, if one has given even a hurried glance at the description of our China properties as summarized on pages 89-95, it will not be necessary to argue the point that a much larger fund will be necessary to set the work of the Mission in motion again. The restoration of the Kiangyin property alone might easily consume one-half of the total figure named in the Assembly's action. We must bear in mind that $1,000,000 worth of property cannot be replaced in China today for $1,000,000. What with the inflated cost of materials

and of labor, the full expense could easily run into figures two or three times as large. All of this merely underlines the utter insufficiency of the present sum of $640,000 in hand, and challenges us in this very year to add at least the $360,000 that is lacking of the goal approved by the Assembly. This is the minimum at which we should aim, and if Christian liberality and faith should lift the sum far higher, it would be to the praise and glory of God and for the advancement of His Kingdom.

2. The need of moral and spiritual refreshment and restoration for the leaders of the Chinese Church. This is equally as acute as the necessity for the physical restoration of properties and installations. Driven from their churches, separated from their people, deprived of books and denied an opportunity for study, cut off from the fellowship of fellow workers and missionaries, and exposed to the fiercest temptations of body and of soul, there has been a spiritual emaciation of native pastors, evangelists, and church workers that should excite our pity as deeply as the wounds they have received in their bodies. Our China Survey Committee has already laid plans for the holding of conferences, retreats, and training schools, designed to bind the Christian body together again in fellowship and mutual purpose, to restore the broken morale of discouraged workers, to replenish their depleted stores of mind and heart, and to set the whole work forward in a unity of faith and plan.

3. The need of adequate appropriations to carry the increased cost of our missionary program. It will not be necessary to labor this point inasmuch as it fairly leaps at us from the circumstances that have already been related. Suffice it to say that our missionaries must continue to proceed in low gear until the Church raises its contributions to the levels that are required by the costly but thrilling opportunities that are before us in China.

4. The need of an adequate educational program for the training of Chinese Christian leadership. Until the situation becomes somewhat clearer, it is difficult to predict how much freedom the missions will be allowed in educational work, and the particular forms it will

take. One thing is sure. There is bound to come a great development in the quantity, quality, and variety of government schools. Whether the mission should seek to conduct schools of its own, paralleling the state institutions, will depend on the financial outlay involved, the terms on which such schools will be allowed to operate, and the nature and sufficiency of the government institutions themselves, especially with respect to ideological teaching.

Certain phases of the educational program will undoubtedly have to be carried by the Missions.

a. The preparation of Christian ministers and full-time workers is definitely the function of the Church and Mission.

b. The distinctively religious preparation of other types such as doctors, nurses, teachers, etc., will also be recognized as the business of the Church and the Mission.

c. If government institutions prove adequate in other ways, Christian forces may find it possible to accomplish their spiritual function in connection with the government schools through hostels or dormitories located in proximity to the campuses.

Whatever the methods employed, the educational task will be one of the chief concerns of the postwar period. A new and awakened China will demand a more thoroughly prepared Christian leadership by far than has been available heretofore.

5. The need of a vigorous program of evangelism. In all our concern with the problems and technicalities of missionary work, we must not lose sight of that one dynamic aim that should move through all our endeavors, the winning of the vast multitudes of unreached and unredeemed men into the fellowship of Jesus Christ their Saviour. We should take new cognizance of the fact that this fundamental task is hardly more than begun in China. Consider this statement:

> "There are a million villages in China and ten thousand rural churches. This means one church to every one hundred villages. The average membership of these churches so far as any survey has revealed is thirty-five, of whom only one-half live within five li of the church."[10]

Let one absorb the devastating seriousness of that situation and it will not be necessary to argue the fact that the work of pioneer evangelism remains the essential missionary task.

We are indebted to the Rev. W. C. McLauchlin, D.D., of China for the following story:

> "I was sitting in the Shahe Chapel one day some years ago, preparing for a night service, when an old gray-bearded man entered the Chapel and sat near where I was studying. We started a conversation and I took John 3:16 and tried to make him understand that God so loved him as an individual, that He had given His only begotten Son, that this old gray-bearded man might not perish but have everlasting life. I had to go over this story with him many times before he seemed to understand it at all, but after repeating this wonderful word over and over and over, he seemed to take it in. He beckoned to me to come out in the yard. Then he pointed to a little hill not far away and said: 'My great-grandfather lived up there on that hill. He lived to an old age and he died and he didn't know anything about the story you just told me. My grandfather lived on that same hill. He lived to an old age, and he died, and nobody had ever told him what you have just told me. My father lived up there; he lived to an old age and he died with no knowledge of this story. I have lived up there, and now I am seventy-four years old, and this is the first time I have ever heard anything of what you have just told me.' Then came his question: 'IF YOU AND YOUR PEOPLE REALLY BELIEVE THAT STORY WHICH YOU HAVE JUST TOLD ME, WHY HAVE YOU WAITED SO LONG TO TELL US?' I had no good answer to that question at the time, and I haven't any now. I leave his question with you. Why have we waited so long and why are we still waiting?"

*The long-awaited day in China is here. Now is the time.*

*Chapter V*

# A SECOND CHANCE IN JAPAN

WHAT happened to the Christian Church in Japan during the war? Did it survive? Was it true to its message and faith? Did Japanese Christians support the war effort? Is emperor worship gone? What are the prospects for the future? Will the Japanese welcome the missionaries back?

Some of these questions can be answered now; at some we can make plausible guesses; others must await the solutions that history will write; and to some, we ourselves will supply the answer in the days and years ahead.

## THE JAPANESE CHRISTIAN AND THE WAR

Consider the predicament of the Japanese Christian during the war. He suddenly found himself a member of a small minority group, regarded both with official and with public suspicion. He was about as popular in Japan as a conscientious objector was in the United States. The reasons for this are not hard to explain.

1. Christianity was in fundamental disagreement with the Japanese idea of loyalty to the divine emperor. We Americans have never known the inner conflict between religion and patriotism that has torn the heart of the Christian in Japan, for the democratic principles on which our nation is founded are in large measure the expression in terms of human government of the teachings and impulses of Christianity. We are hardly prepared, therefore, to understand the experience of the Japanese Christian who found the claims of his faith in conflict with the claims of his country and who, in confessing Christ as Lord, exposed himself to the charge of being a traitor to the emperor. One of the questions frequently asked Japanese

Christians during the war was: "Which is greater, Jesus Christ or the emperor?" How to answer that question in keeping with one's conviction, and yet escape punishment, was the dilemma.

2. Furthermore, Christianity was associated in the minds of the Japanese people with Britain and America. This was inevitable, since practically all missionaries in Japan had come from these two countries. Some Japanese even thought of Christianity as the ideological instrument of British and American imperialism, just as Shinto was definitely the implement of Japanese nationalism. Christians in Japan were therefore singled out for persecution for no reason other than that they had associated with missionaries and had been friendly with them. They were hounded from place to place, ostracized by their neighbors and by the public, spied upon by police and detectives, frequently called up for questioning, intimidated and imprisoned.

Under these circumstances Japanese Christians did precisely what you and I would have done. They went out of their way to prove their loyalty to their country, not merely to escape criticism and persecution but to prevent unwarranted prejudices against Christianity itself. Some carried this too far, as in the case of the man who was one day being examined by the "thought police." When they asked him how many persons were in the Godhead, he replied: "There are four—the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the emperor." It is reported that they reprimanded him for blaspheming the emperor of Japan!

The remarks derogatory to the United States that Dr. Kagawa is said to have made over the radio shortly before the end of the war can no doubt be explained by the same desire to protect himself and the Christian community generally from charges of disloyalty. It had been announced publicly in Japan that if the United States won the war Dr. Kagawa would be made the premier of the country. The inference was that he was in the confidence of the American authorities and would be willing to serve as a puppet. In order to answer the implication of collaborating with the enemy and to set the Christians of Japan in the clear, he spoke over the radio and informed the

public that he condemned America's part in the war. Explaining his action he said recently:

> "I was compelled to come down from international Christianity to the national level of my people in order to save the Christian movement."

We should not be too bitter in our disappointment if it comes to light that some Japanese Christians aided and abetted the war effort and justified their nation's part in it. The overwhelming influence of mass psychology at such a time must be considered. There is that sense of loyalty to the "home team" that makes it almost impossible for an individual to break away from allegiance to his own people and country. It has been said that never in history have the Christian people of any nation taken a stand against their own government in a time of war. Remember, too, that the Japanese Christian had no opportunity to know the truth about the issues involved in the conflict. For years the military government had been conditioning the mind of the people to insure their full moral support. This was accomplished through the rigid control of every instrument of propaganda—the radio, the press, the platform. The Japanese public was allowed to hear, read, and tell nothing that did not serve the official purpose. After all, a man has no basis for his judgments except the facts as he knows them; and if he is treated from day to day with a distortion of the body of truth from which he must draw his conclusions, he is led inevitably to false judgments. There is no alternative.

We should not suppose, therefore, that the Japanese Christian who supported the war had cast aside his Christian principles. Rather, it was his Christian reaction to the facts *as he knew them* that caused him to justify Japan's position.

### The Japanese Church and the War

Consider, also, the predicament of the Japanese Church. The suspicion that surrounded the individual Christian was naturally di-

rected even more pointedly at the Church in its organized expression. This was in evidence even before the actual outbreak of war. A sort of spiritual regimentation was being progressively imposed upon the Church in Japan, as well as in Korea, as early as 1936. The pressure became acute in the summer of 1940, and the Salvation Army was the first object of attack. Why not? Did not the very name of this organization indicate its military character? Were not its leaders dressed in uniform, and did they not refer to one another as Lieutenant, Captain, Major, and Colonel? Here, apparently, was a full-fledged military organization which, to make matters worse, had its headquarters in London! What further evidence was needed? Steps must be taken immediately to disperse this full-blown "fifth column" openly operating among the people! The higher officers of the Salvation Army were imprisoned and a reorganization of the whole body was ordered. Military titles were discarded and the name of the movement was changed from Kyuseigun (World Saving Army) to Kyuseidan (World Saving Organization).

Next came the attack on the Episcopal Church. Objection had previously been made to the petition in the prayer book, "God save the emperor," and this was ordered deleted. The suggestion that the emperor of Japan needed the help of God or the prayers of Christian people was regarded as blasphemy. The Japanese Episcopal Church was required to dismiss all missionary clergy, including four Anglican and three American bishops, and to rid itself of all foreign connections either of personnel or of finance.

The reason, apparently, for the severity with which the government dealt with the Salvation Army and the Episcopal Church was that both of these organizations were strongly British in their leadership, and feeling against England was very high in Japan at the time.

In 1941, under increasing pressure by the government, thirty-four Protestant denominations in Japan were formally brought together in one body. That this was not a natural or a spontaneous merger was indicated by the fact that several of the leading denominations,

notably the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Lutherans, vigorously protested the measure. It was virtually impossible, however, for any group to stand long in the face of the determined policy of the government to bring all Protestantism into one organization and under one titular head. The government's interest in this step was rather gruesomely expressed by someone in the comment, "It is easier to cut off one head than forty!" The Presbyterians finally came in, with the stipulation that the form of organization should be a federation of denominations rather than a united church. More than two-thirds of the Episcopal congregations stayed outside, and the Seventh Day Adventists remained throughout the war unassociated with the new coalition.

The formal consummation of the merger occurred in the spring of 1941. It was set up under the name of Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (Japan Christian Teaching Body), and has since been known conveniently as "The Kyodan." The government appointed the Rev. Mitsuru Tomida, first graduate of our Presbyterian Seminary in Kobe, to be the "Torisha," a new term coined by the authorities to designate the head of the Kyodan. The Torisha was to stand responsible to the government for the whole group, and under the new law everything was to be done by his dictum. Whatever polity the Church might employ within its own organization for the exercise of ecclesiastical powers, the one authority recognized by the government of Japan was the Torisha.

Having forced a simplified and officially wieldy structure on the Christian community, the Japanese government proceeded to exploit it as far as possible for its own ends. This was done by curbing those elements of worship and teaching that seemed to exalt Christ over the emperor, and by encouraging the Church to function more and more as a propaganda instrument for the inculcation of patriotism and the national ideology. The Christian doctrine of the second coming of Christ was especially objectionable because of its emphasis on the ultimate reign of Christ over all the earth, including the

Japanese Empire. The groups that emphasized this teaching were therefore singled out for the worst of the persecution.

> "Ministers and Christian workers were harassed by the police. Many were questioned by the 'thought police.' A number were thrown into prison, and four died there.
>
> "Four hundred ministers of the Holiness Church were deprived of their license to preach. Forty-three leaders of the Seventh Day Adventist group were arrested in 1943, and questioned for several months. The head of the church was in prison 101 days."[1]

There was government restriction also on the right of public assembly. Throughout the country, congregations were allowed only the one gathering on Sunday morning. By official requirement, Christian services of worship were begun by having the people to bow in the direction of the imperial palace. Patriotic characteristics were encouraged in the service and were often reflected in the prayers and in the content of the message. In some localities a strict proscription of public meetings was applied to churches, and Christians were forced to limit their gatherings to informal meetings.

Church attendance rapidly dwindled. It is estimated that congregations were probably not more than one-tenth of their normal size. This was attributable to many obvious causes other than official or popular antagonism toward Christianity, such as:

(1) The spy mania, (2) The general war psychology, (3) The abolishment of Sunday as a holiday, (4) The necessity for women to spend hours standing in lines for food, (5) The requirement that many younger pastors work a large part of the week, (6) The uncertainties caused by air raid drills and later by actual raids, (7) All sorts of government regulations which made it impossible to get out reports, notices, and tracts, and (8) The necessity of police permission for holding meetings.[2]

Christian schools, along with the Church itself, were exposed to increasing government pressure. All reference to Christianity was

ordered removed from their charters. Chapel services and Bible courses were officially prohibited, and, instead, the holding of patriotic exercises once or twice a week was advocated. Some schools even went so far as to dismiss Christian teachers and became, in effect, secular institutions whose chief concern seemed to be to please the official mind. Others stood courageously firm in their Christian position, and managed to survive throughout the war without changing their charters or yielding to the pressure against religious exercises and Bible study. So far as we have been able to learn, however, none of the schools attached to the Kyodan stood without compromise on the issue of attendance at Shinto shrine ceremonies. Under official compulsion they sent their students to these idolatrous observances which center in the worship of the emperor and the national deities of Japan.

How did the Church stand up under this kind of oppression? Reactions on the part of individual ministers and church members ranged all the way from steadfast refusal to comply with official demands, even at the risk of imprisonment and persecution, to a virtual acquiescence in every requirement, even to the point of compromising the spirit and message of Christianity. The attitude of the majority of Christians probably fell within these two extremes, seeking to comply with the orders of the government without actually violating any basic conviction of the Christian faith. Unquestionably, the Church as a whole went too far at times, and its testimony sounded more like a confession of allegiance to the state than of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. For example, on August 20, 1944, the *Kyodan News* (United Church News) published the following:

"The Declaration of Decisive Battle Position of the Japanese Christian Church":

> "This is now the fourth year since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War and the tide of war has entered the state of decisive battle. By the virtue of His Majesty the Emperor the Imperial forces have with brave and hard fighting broken the American-

British enemy. This enemy has suddenly recovered his fighting strength and feeling material abundance is attempting to make a stand. Lately he has overrun Saipan, invaded the Tinian Islands, and advancing would press upon our glorious homeland. It is now that we must break the charge for if we do not crush his evil designs there will be little hope for the future of our country.

"In this present situation our church which has a message for the Imperial State must comfort the heart of the Emperor by standing for the certain victory of the Empire and by every means defeat the boastful enemy.

"From time to time the educational authorities have expressed their hopes to all the religious bodies by issuing plans for strengthening the movement for religious culture in wartime.

"Our church according to her primary mission and acting in concert with the spirit of the guidance of the Department of Education must, for this one battle, set her resources in order and, with the churches of the whole land united, endeavor to encourage the rising spirit of the people. For this purpose the total force of the members must be offered to achieve a fitting victory for the Empire."[3]

Naturally, the Japanese Church also shared in the physical destruction of the later stages of the war when hundreds of American planes repeatedly bombed the more important industrial centers. Of the two thousand Protestant churches in Japan proper, four hundred and fifty-seven have been completely destroyed. The heaviest loss was in the city of Tokyo, where one hundred and fifty-four church buildings were burned. Of the five hundred and forty-five churches which, before the union, belonged to the Presbyterian group, one hundred and thirteen are gone. About one-half of the Christian high schools and colleges have been destroyed. Heavy personal losses have been suffered by pastors and other church workers.

Nothing remains of the property of our own Presbyterian Mission except two or three residences. The excellent plant of the Central Theological Seminary in Kobe was completely destroyed except for the home of the dean. The Kinjo Girls' College in Nagoya, which was founded and developed by our own Presbyterian Mission and then turned over to the Japanese Church before the war, is using the part of the chapel which was not destroyed, all other buildings and installations having been completely wiped out in the fires that followed the bombings.

### The Plight of the Japanese People

Strong as is our conviction that the complete military defeat of Japan was necessary for the safety of the world, the present condition of the country and its 70,000,000 inhabitants is such as to arouse our pity. Japan's once proud war machine has been broken; her vaunted Navy that all but wrested the control of the Pacific from our hands is gone; and the remnants of her land forces, surrendered and disarmed, are returning to their homeland.

Fearful devastation has overtaken Japan's cities. It is said that one hundred and sixteen of her largest and most important centers have been destroyed. The Christian deputation that went from the United States to Japan in the fall of 1945 reported that in Tokyo, on the night of March 9, 1945, 100,000 people are said to have been roasted to death, or boiled to death in shallow pools, or crushed or drowned in the canals.[4]

Japan is bereft of her outlying possessions and colonies. The Asiatic empire that she saw almost within her grasp is gone, her dream has been shattered, and she has emerged from the conflict a third-rate insular power that will probably never again recover its former position in the world. Korea is gone; Formosa is gone; Manchuria is gone; so also are Japan's spheres of influence on the Asiatic mainland, her mandated possessions in the Pacific, and the outlying island chains that protected the approaches to her homeland.

Japan's economy is ruined. Her industries have been laid waste, the sources of her raw materials are lost, the markets that she had won as outlets for her manufactured products have vanished, her merchant marine has been swept from the seas, and the pinch of poverty and hunger is felt increasingly among the masses of her population.

But Japan's undoing is not merely physical. Spiritually, too, she has been shaken to her very foundations. Probably in no other country in the world would a military defeat have so profound a spiritual meaning as it has had in Japan. Nowhere else is the national destiny so closely identified with the national faith. An American defeat in war would not necessarily undermine the belief of our people in Christianity. It might even serve to deepen our Christian life through the disciplines of humility and of dependence upon God. But in Japan, where the divinity of the emperor and the destiny of the nation *are* the religion of the people, a national defeat is tantamount to the sweeping away of the foundations of faith. It is an experience of spiritual disillusionment in comparison with which the actual physical defeat is of secondary consideration.

The general devastation that has overtaken Japan is poignantly portrayed in these desperate words spoken by a Japanese to members of the Christian deputation:

> "Everything in Japan is crushed, smashed, or diminished, spiritually and materially. She has surrendered completely. She has no sovereignty at present, has no diplomacy, no army, no navy, no steamers, no honor, no pride, no confidence, no houses, no clothes, no food to live on. I do not want to exaggerate the desperate condition of Japan too much and give you a misunderstanding—but I cannot give you false information."[5]

Such is the Japan to which our missionaries are today returning. So drastic has been the dislocation of Japanese life and the experience through which the Church has come, that Foreign Mission Boards are sending survey committees to take stock of the new conditions that

confront us and to recommend the procedures that should be followed in the restoration of our Christian service to the people of that country. Our own Presbyterian Survey Committee is ready to proceed to the field, and there is every reason to believe that official authorization will have been received for them to sail long before these lines are read.

### Problems of Missions in Japan

The specific problems of postwar missions will be bafflingly difficult in Japan. Here are some of the questions that are already posed for our consideration:

1. What will be the effect on the Japanese mind of the association of Christianity with the imperialism of power? The victory over Japan was achieved principally by the United States and England, the outstanding Christian countries of the world and the most active in missions. A third country, China, is controlled by a government with outstanding Christian leaders. If we enjoy missionary liberty in Japan again as a result of victory achieved largely by American arms, will we be exposed to the old charge that missionaries are the "running dogs of imperialism," that Christianity propagates itself by force, that like Mohammedans we depend on the sword rather than the spirit?

Much will depend, of course, on how our relationships with Japan are conducted. Our dealings with the Japanese people should be magnanimous. We have been relentless in battle; we must be generous in victory. This is the principle of common good sportsmanship. It is also good Christianity.

There should be no retaliation. In postwar matters we must make good our claim that we fought not in aggression but in restraint. Our plea of "self-defense" will break down if having subdued our adversary and insured our safety we go to the length of inflicting injury after our assailant has been disarmed.

We should, as missionaries, claim no special rights or liberties beyond those commonly recognized as inherent in the idea of religious

freedom. The *Christian* rather than the *American* sponsorship of missions must be emphasized. The altruistic purpose of missions must be made clear—that we are interested in the growth of Christianity *in Japan* and *for the sake of the Japanese* rather than in the expansion of the program of our western churches. There must be a full recognition of Japanese leadership in the Christian movement in that country so that the native or indigenous character of the enterprise will be apparent. We must demonstrate by attitudes of humility, understanding, patience, and sacrifice that the war for us is over, that we have come to help, and not to exploit our victory.

2. What should be the relation of our Mission to the government-imposed merger of churches in Japan?

This issue is of immediate concern, for proposals have already been advanced looking toward the recognition of the Kyodan in Japan by the missionary boards collectively and the formulation of the entire policy of mission-church relations in the future on that basis.

It is difficult to understand just why any Christian group should desire at this time to encourage recognition of this product of wartime coercion. While the union has been characterized by the Christian deputation that visited the country in late 1945 as "the crowning achievement of the Christians in Japan during the war," there are many who feel that this is an extravagant idealization of what really took place. In the light of the well-known fact that the Kyodan was brought into being under government duress, that several of the larger national churches (including Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians) strongly opposed the merger, that it was exploited by the government to foster its program of "spiritual mobilization" both in Japan and in the conquered areas, and that the arrangement, lacking the elements of spiritual cohesiveness, gives no certain promise of continuing now that the official pressure is released, it seems that every consideration would point to the withholding, certainly for the present, of any action that might appear to lend the blessing of American Protestantism to the status quo in Japan. It is difficult to escape the feeling that those Japanese Christians, the

spiritual core of the Church, who stood out to the last against the government pressure and were finally constrained to come in by force of circumstances, would feel that they have been "let down" if any action of mission boards in this country appeared to recognize or approve the arrangements that have been forced upon them.

In this connection it will be pertinent to recall the statement drawn up by nine outstanding missionaries of China, representing eight different denominations, who were fellow passengers on the repatriation ship, *Gripsholm,* on its last journey from the Far East in 1943:

> "Since the middle of 1942 there has been more or less constant pressure on the Chinese Church from the Japanese to effect a total 'union' along lines similar to those previously enforced in Japan, and in North China in the spring of 1942. It has appeared that the several conflicting bureaus and organizations created by the Japanese to press this issue have had one major end in view, namely, the control and use of the Church and all other cultural organizations as tools to forward the Japanese military and political plans in Asia."*

Consider, also, this statement by a missionary to Japan:

> "If this union were the spontaneous expression of unity of faith in Christ, the evidence of one mind in Him, it would be a great cause for joy. I can see it only as a union under duress, consummated in fear of the consequences of not uniting, a union planned by the government in order to control Christianity, along with Buddhism and Shinto, for its own ends."

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*From Report Concerning Protestant Christian Missionary Work in China by *Gripsholm* missionaries. Signers were: Bishop W. P. Roberts, Episcopal; Rev. Dr. E. H. Ballou, American Board (Philippines); Rev. Dr. L. C. Hylbert, American Baptist; Rev. Dr. R. J. McMullen, Presbyterian U. S.; Rev. Dr. Edwin Marx, United Christian Society; Rev. Dr. E. E. Walline, Presbyterian, U. S. A.; Rev. Dr. Ralph C. Wells, Presbyterian, U. S. A. (Philippines); Rev. Dr. J. T. Williams, Southern Baptist; Rev. Dr. J. C. Hawk, Southern Baptist.

What we have, then, in the Japanese Kyodan is not a spiritual union but a mere unity of organization forced upon the Church by the autocratic power of government in contravention of every principle of religious liberty. We should be very sure of our ground before we lend it our endorsement. It is not at all clear at this moment that the Japanese churches themselves would follow us in such approval. There is a great deal of unrest and dissatisfaction within the organization itself, arising from issues both of creed and of polity. It has been complained that the Church is too authoritarian in form and needs to be democratized. Some object that it is Toyko-centered. Still others want a stricter creed, while some would be quite content to do away with creeds altogether. The very continued existence of the Kyodan is still an uncertainty.

The entire question of our relationship with the Church in Japan merits careful thought. We can well afford to defer judgment until we know what the Japanese churches themselves want to do about the Kyodan. After all, it is primarily their problem; and they should be allowed to work it out in freedom from official coercion on the one hand, or administrative and financial pressure from mission boards on the other. There is danger of acting prematurely and of committing ourselves in advance to policies whose soundness will turn on future elements that are not at present predictable.

3. What will be the attitude of the home Church toward missionary work in Japan? It is not surprising that bitterness should have run deep within us during the war. We frequently heard people speak of the Japanese as though they were subhuman, not properly belonging to the race of men. Doubts were expressed whether any Japanese was ever a sincere Christian; indeed, whether any Japanese possessed the capacity to respond to Christian motives and ideals. The danger of such an attitude, of course, is not that it discredits the Japanese, but that it discounts the Gospel. Whatever the depth of depravity to which these people may have fallen, individually or collectively, we cannot place them beyond the reach of the grace of God. Wherever one takes a sounding of sin and discovers some new

depth, he may be sure that in the vast and fathomless ocean of God's grace there are currents of mercy and of redemption that run deeper still.

4. Probably the most difficult problem confronting us in Japan is the whole question of the position of the emperor. This is not, as it may appear, a purely political problem, but is an issue of vital concern to the enterprise of Christian missions. Has General MacArthur handled this delicate matter wisely? Can we write emperor worship off, or must we still reckon with it as a force in Japanese thought?

In this connection, I have just been rereading some paragraphs from a series of lectures it was my privilege to deliver at Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia, in March, 1945. This, it will be seen, was approximately five months before V-J Day. The discussion of these questions took the form in those lectures of certain expressed desires and predictions concerning the handling of the issues surrounding the emperor and Shintoism. Here are a few paragraphs:

> "It is not necessary that the emperor be put to death for his war guilt, as some would advocate. Indeed, in this respect the emperor of Japan should not be bracketed with Mussolini or Hitler. Japan's policies, whether of war or of peace, are not determined by the emperor. It is a well-known fact that he is a mere figurehead as far as matters of government are concerned, a spiritual symbol, and that the actual decisions in all matters are made by his advisers and by the party in power. It is probable that the emperor has been about as powerless, either to cause or to prevent the war, as if he were merely one private citizen. Indeed, it is said on good authority that it was against his better judgment and pleading, that he was virtually forced by his advisers and military leaders to join the Axis and enter the war against the democracies. To execute the emperor would serve no good purpose. It would be a miscarriage of justice visited upon a harmless and lonely man.

"Nor does it seem necessary that the emperor should be deposed. While we hold in this country a strong preference for democracy, there is nothing in the monarchical form of government that is essentially unchristian or which may not be so adapted as to prove virtually democratic in practice. England constitutes a good example.

"But there is one thing that must go if the fangs of Japan are to be drawn. The *traditional emperor concept* must be abolished. If Japan is allowed to retain her emperor he must be stripped of those elements of divinity, inviolability, and absoluteness with which he has been clothed in the minds of his people. The mythology that supports these conceptions must be eradicated and the emperor idea must be deflated to the point where it can be regarded as safe.

"The processes required to accomplish this may prove long and tedious, but the goal can be achieved. There must be first of all a complete mental and moral reorientation of Japanese youth. It will be necessary to begin with the schools, where from the very first grade Japanese children have been indoctrinated with the ethico-religious concepts of Shintoism. Textbooks on ethics and the readers now in use in Japanese schools should be confiscated and burned. In their place an entirely new basis of instruction must be provided, designed to shape the mind of a new generation along normal and wholesome lines.

"The many thousands of State Shinto shrines should be dismantled and removed. No plea of religious or political liberty should be allowed to stand in the way. For these shrines of State Shinto which are the symbols of the national faith that sent Japan on her road to aggression, have proven that they are a menace to the peace and order of the world and thus forfeit their claim to the normal liberties that they might enjoy."

These opinions have been shared by a considerable body of missionaries, at least in their general outline.

General MacArthur's handling of the situation in Japan has been in striking agreement with the convictions expressed in the foregoing paragraphs. The measures that he has employed have gone far toward divesting the emperor of the false and dangerous pretentions that have traditionally been his, while retaining for him the normal and wholesome respect of his people as their national sovereign. Shintoism, having been placed on the same footing with other religions and deprived of its special position as a government-supported movement, is now less dangerous to Christian liberty and growth than at any time during the past generation.

We should not be so naïve as to suppose that these problems have been permanently settled and that they can never emerge again to trouble the Church in Japan. We must be prepared for probable reactions in the direction of Japan's traditional imperialism. The patterns of thought that have existed for hundreds of years cannot be so easily brushed aside or eradicated by decree. Groups of super-patriots will continue to rise up in Japan from time to time to advocate the restoration of the emperor to his rightful place as the Son of Heaven, and the re-establishment of the Shinto system to support such a national revival. But it is to be hoped that the counterinfluences already at work in the life of Japan will prevent her from lapsing again into the anachronisms of the era from which she is emerging and that the day of Japan's subscription to an empty mythology may prove to have passed into history.

### The Outlook for Christianity

There is a new missionary opportunity in Japan today, the greatest opportunity, in the opinion of many, that we have ever had in that land. Drastic as the effects of the war have been upon the Japanese people, there are those who see in it a spiritual discipline that has already resulted in a conditioning of attitude favorable toward the Christian enterprise. Here are some significant factors:

1. The unexpected friendliness of the Japanese people.

It was not surprising that even the optimists among us looked with misgiving upon the postwar prospects for Christian missions in Japan. There might be opportunity in China and Korea, we thought; but in Japan, hardly. It would be too much to expect that the fierce resentments of war could be forgotten in a generation, and the outlook for Christian progress in the Japan of tomorrow seemed dark.

One of the surprising developments in the present situation has been the strangely friendly relationship that exists between the Japanese population and the American forces of occupation. Reports from Japan indicate more than a mere submission or acquiescence on the part of the people. There is something almost cordial in the impression that the American GI has made on the Japanese and which the Japanese, in turn, have made on the American soldier.

This impression was reflected in the report brought back by the Christian deputation to Japan. They wrote:

> "On our first evening in Japan we met in the hotel lobby an old friend who represented one of the great American news syndicates. He said to us, 'You will encounter a situation here which you simply will not be able to believe—yet it is actual. I cannot write to my papers about it because American readers in general are not prepared to take it in.' These words proved to be true; we expected to find no end of resentment toward us among the Japanese people, but instead we discovered that popular anger was now directed against the Japanese military themselves."[6]

The Rev. William C. Kerr, missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, wrote from Tokyo on October 15:

> "As we drove along, groups of children waved, saluted, called out 'Hello,' 'Good-by,' 'Banzai,' with smiles on their faces. Even an occasional adult saluted, many smiled, many more looked away, but I saw no really sour looks. Since then I have wandered about the streets by day and by night, among crowds of students, young men in home defense uniforms, old and young, and have noticed

no different attitude from years before the war. I have asked questions, and been answered with the utmost courtesy. Everyone has the same tale to tell of courtesies received."

Assurances are coming to mission boards in America from the churches and Christians of Japan that the return of missionaries is eagerly awaited, and that a sincere and wholehearted welcome is in store for them.

2. A national humility. My father, who was for fifty years a missionary in Japan, used to say that no significant spiritual progress could be made in that country until it had suffered an abject national humiliation. An inordinate pride has been the besetting sin of the Japanese people. This pride has been fostered by the peculiar religious tradition of the nation, which has looked upon itself as a special race, guarded by the gods (especially by the Sun Goddess), ruled by gods in the persons of their emperors, endowed with superior traits, invincible in war, committed to a divine mission, destined to conquer the world and rule it. Might it not be possible that the recent war, involving Japan's utter defeat, may have supplied just that experience of discipline and humiliation that may prove Japan's national undoing but her spiritual salvation?

The complete downfall that Japan has suffered should certainly result in the discrediting of the military regime. This group has held its iron control over the nation by the possession in its own hands of the instruments of government and of warfare. Dispossessed of these, and suffering loss of face in the eyes of their fellow countrymen because of their responsibility for Japan's reverses, the military control in Japan seems destined to pass.

The defeat has also threatened the position and dignity of the Sun Goddess to whose prowess Japan's victories in war have, in the past, been attributed. The leaders of Japan have so consistently held up their nation's invincibility as proof of the divine transcendence of the Sun Goddess, that this myth now seems destined to collapse before the conspicuous national tragedy that has annulled the argument by

which it has been supported. Thus the very cornerstone of the ideological foundation upon which Japan has built her political-religious philosophy of government is now threatened.

The experience of humiliation, widely felt throughout the nation, has also shown itself in the Japanese Church. The remarkable declaration adopted by the All Japan Christian Convention in Toyko on June 9, 1946, is a moving statement that could come only out of deep conviction and heart-searching:

"We, the people of Japan, feel deeply responsible for this great war just ended. Especially we, who profess the Gospel of Peace, do hereby express our profound reflection, confession and repentance. We believe, however, our Heavenly Father of infinite love and forgiveness will grant us sufficient grace to find a new way of life and the revival of faith.

"Confronting the immediate and unspeakable suffering and loss of our compatriots by this war, we are fully conscious of the new meaning of the Cross pressing upon us. Whereby we have determined for the reconstruction of New Japan, founded upon the Cross of Jesus, to look forward to a day of a moral world order to be realized on this earth.

"We pray that the All Japan Christian Convention being held on this day of Pentecost may become the dawn of a new day for the forward movement of our churches and the revival of faith.

"Through the consolidation of all Christian forces in Japan, and taking upon ourselves the burden and agony of our war-stricken fellow compatriots, we have firmly resolved to give ourselves in service to them by sharing their hunger, their bewilderment and their sorrow, and to give them hope, faith and love in Christ.

"Therefore we hereby inaugurate a three-year nation-wide evangelistic campaign for the reconstruction of New Japan, and solemnly resolve and declare:

First, to Christianize Japan based upon the Cross of Christ.
Second, to do our uttermost to save eighty million compatriots from the menace of impending starvation."

3. The new liberty of religion in Japan. At no time during the past fifty years has the Christian movement in Japan enjoyed full religious liberty or equality. Christian schools, especially, have always suffered certain disabilities, and the only way to escape these handicaps was by sacrificing some element in their distinctively Christian emphasis.

The present situation offers a new freedom for the Church, well summarized in the following paragraphs quoted from the Report of the Christian Deputation to Japan:

"The repressive religious bodies law has been abrogated and under the new regulations to be drawn up (in which the deputation had a minor hand), it is likely that churches will be as free as they are in the United States. Private schools are now permitted to carry on education based on Christian principles without loss of privileges for their students. Normal schools will be open to the graduates of all high schools, public or private, opening the way for Christian teachers to be trained in state institutions. Shinto will take its place as one of the religions of the country without state support and students in public schools will no longer be required as a part of their school duty to participate in ceremonials at Shinto shrines.

"If the present trend in Japan continues, Christianity should be in a position somewhat comparable to that which it occupied in the early days of the Emperor Meiji. That is to say, it will be free to proclaim its message and carry on its work without interference from the state and with an opportunity equal to that of any other faith."[7]

4. Freedom of thought and of speech.

There is much liberalism and democratic sentiment among the Japanese which has been completely repressed under the iron rule

of militarism, but which will find renewed expression now that this oppression has been broken. Anyone who resided in Japan during the years immediately following the First World War will recall the great popularity, amounting almost to hero worship, that the Japanese accorded President Wilson. No political speech was considered complete that did not allude to Wilson several times and play frequently upon the magic word, "democracy." To be sure, national sentiment has swung sharply to the right during the years of World War II, but not so far, perhaps, as surface appearances would indicate. There is an outward acquiescence under tyranny that does not always represent true inner feeling. Where there is no liberty of expression, it is impossible to know what currents of thought may be flowing deep in the hearts of the people. Voices that have long been suppressed will now be able to sound their message with freedom and without fear.

5. The awakened spirit of evangelism in the Japanese Church.

The Christian Church in Japan has adopted as its immediate major business a great crusade of evangelism for the winning of three million converts to Christ within a space of three years. It is significant that this takes precedence over any other concern, though the Church is faced by overwhelming tasks of reconstruction. It would not have been surprising if the necessity had been urged first of rebuilding the destroyed churches, or of ministering to the abject need and hunger of pastors and people; but these are matters which, though urgent, must take their turn behind the one thing that has been lifted into the place of first priority, the evangelization of Japan. This is a wholesome sign. It reveals the deeply spiritual impulse under which the Japanese Church is moving. Do we have here a ground for hoping that through the drastic experience of war God has worked for the purification of the heart of the Church and has set its face toward the future with a new fervor and faith?

A generation ago the soul of Japan was open to the Gospel. Urgent appeals were sounded for thousands of missionaries to go while the time was propitious and the providences of God were calling. Only a few hundred were sent. The day of opportunity

passed. Japan accepted instead the gospel of material and of might which the world so zealously preached to her, and took the road that led her step by step to the cataclysm that has overtaken her.

And now once more the heart of the nation seems strangely open, disciplined by suffering and humiliation. The day of a new liberty for the Gospel has come. Fellow Christians in Japan are revealing an awakened zeal and concern for the salvation of their own people. The right hand of fellowship is being extended us by our Christian brethren of the Japanese Church. The plea has come that our missionaries be returned so that the broken ties may be restored in Christ and we may move forward together again in brotherly co-operation to bring the people of Japan to the feet of our Saviour.

Now is the time. God is offering us a second chance. We are confronted by such an opportunity as never again seemed possible in Japan.

*Chapter VI*

# CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP'S HOUR IN KOREA

The tiny peninsula that juts southward from Eastern Manchuria as an appendage to the great Asiatic continent has played a role in Far Eastern affairs that might appear all out of proportion to its size and importance. With a population of only 22,000,000 people, a simple peace-loving folk devoted to a quiet agricultural life in the valleys of their beautiful country, Korea is dwarfed by the huge and aggressive Asiatic powers that surround her.

For years this little nation has suffered because of her strategic location in the Far Eastern scene. Powerless to defend herself against her giant neighbors, she has been subject to the successive depredations of China, Russia, and Japan, each of these considering the control of Korea as essential to its own national security. For in the possession of either Russia or China, Korea is a dagger pointed at the heart of Japan; and in Japan's control she becomes a beach-head on the Asiatic continent from which aggressive action can be launched on either of the other two countries.

Since her annexation by Japan in 1910, Korea has been under the stern rule of that country. It has been an era characterized by strange contradictions of benevolence and cruelty. Outwardly, Korea has made great progress. The primitive civilization of a generation ago has undergone an amazing transformation as Japan has brought in all the innovations of this scientific age—railroads, highways, the telephone, the telegraph, an efficient postal system, schools, hospitals, eleemosynary institutions, trade, industry, and government. One need

only compare any Korean city of today with its prototype of 1910 to witness the amazing change that has been wrought by the hand of Japan during the period of her occupation.

But the heart of Korea has been sad, for beneath the externalities of progress her people were suffering. The Japanese regime was often cruel and relentless; there was no real freedom; 80 per cent of the native people were reduced to near poverty; farmers were dispossessed of their lands and became tenants on what were once their own farms; Japanese investors and capitalists enriched themselves by the toil and sweat of the Korean people; deep humiliation burdened the heart; and the longing for freedom, like a slowly dying hope, tormented the soul of the country. Nothing is dearer to the heart of a people than liberty. It is so now as it was in the days of Patrick Henry, and no hour in all Korean history brought such exultant joy to the people as that memorable day in 1945 when the victory of the allied armies brought an end to the darkest hours of her humiliation and gave her the promise of deliverance.

Christian concern for Korea today is reflected in three constantly recurring questions.

### How Did the Korean Church Fare During the War?

Except for the actual physical devastation caused by air raids and direct military action, the Church in Korea was probably called upon to endure an even harder lot than the churches either of China or of Japan. No group of men and women ever sought to advance the interests of the Kingdom under greater difficulty. Even before the actual outbreak of war with the United States, the Japanese regime in Korea had recognized the irreconcilable conflict between Christianity and Japanese nationalism and had determined to bring the Church to terms with the whole political-religious system embodied in Shintoism. With this in mind, the government resorted to a three-way attack on the Korean Christian Church.

1. There was, first of all, the ideological attack on the fundamental teachings, especially the monotheism, of the Christian faith. Any-

thing that by implication might challenge the supreme position of the emperor or of the Japanese empire was forbidden. The teaching of the second coming of Christ was strictly proscribed because it conflicted with the nationalistic eschatology of Japan, according to which the throne of the emperor was to be "coeval with heaven and earth." No preaching of sin was allowed. To declare that all men are sinners was blasphemy against the emperor. Such an expression as "King of Kings" could not be used. The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation were taboo. Certain incidents in the Bible were under the ban, notably the exodus from Egypt where the parallelism between the plight of the Israelites under the rule of Pharaoh was too closely suggestive of the bondage of the Koreans under Japan. Many hymns were also disallowed, particularly those of a martial content, and in some instances hymnals were actually confiscated and burned.

One of the test questions constantly posed by the police in their dealings with Korean Christians was: "Which is greater, God or the Emperor?" Such confusing of the divine and human spheres may seem ridiculous to us, but it was not amusing to the follower of Christ in Korea, whose very freedom, perchance whose life, depended upon his answer. It was the question above all others that the Christian dreaded to hear propounded.[1]

Along with this frontal attack on the very core of Christian doctrine, the Japanese authorities also fostered an intensified program of Shinto rites and observances throughout the peninsula. The populace was constantly being called out for obeisance at the shrines established for the inculcation of an idolatrous nationalism. Numerous holidays and special occasions were devised to increase the opportunities for these shrine ceremonies. The authorities took particular delight in seeing that Christians were forced to attend, and imposed severe penalties upon those who, for conscience' sake, were disinclined to submit to such requirements. Nothing that the Japanese did aroused more cordial resentment on the part of the Koreans than this effort to force their recognition of the extravagant claims of the god-emperor system that goes by the name of Shinto. How would we

have felt in the United States if a victorious Germany had set up a thousand altars in this country to which the whole nation was required to go periodically en masse to offer our adulations to Hitler and to acknowledge the fanciful claims that he made for himself!

2. Supplementing the ideological strategy, the Japanese authorities also launched an institutional attack against the Church in its organized life and worship. Out of five thousand Protestant churches in Korea, about twelve hundred were ordered to close. Three denominations were suppressed entirely: The Oriental (Holiness) Mission, the Baptists, and the Seventh Day Adventists. Where churches were allowed to continue, only one service a week was permitted; and the authorities sought to turn even this occasion to political purposes by requiring each congregation, at the opening of the service, to stand and bow toward the east in the direction of the emperor's palace in Tokyo!

Another requirement was that church services should be conducted in the Japanese language. Congregations evaded this measure wherever possible, but could not always escape the watchful eye of the police. In official meetings of synods or presbyteries, all proceedings had to be in Japanese and no translation into Korean was permitted.[2]

Christian schools were, for the most part, closed out as the progressive requirements of the government left them no choice but to discontinue or to compromise. Chapel exercises and religious instruction were forbidden; attendance at shrine ceremonies was strictly required. Under these conditions, our own Presbyterian Mission schools had been forced to close three years before the war actually started. Some Missions continued to operate their educational institutions for a time, then transferred them to the control of Korean Christian groups. Commenting on this policy, Dr. George Paik, Korean Christian leader of Seoul, remarks:

"These schools survived the war, but not as Christian schools."[3]

Similarly, Christian hospitals, bereft of missionary doctors, unable to obtain drugs, left to incompetent management, and forbidden to

pursue their distinctively Christian functions, were, in many instances, compelled to close. The confiscation of mission and church properties by the government deprived the Christian body in Korea of the facilities for continuing a full program of work even if they had been given the freedom, otherwise, to carry on.

In 1945, shortly before the Japanese surrender, the government authorities in Korea sought to effect a union of the Protestant church bodies similar to the organization that had been set up earlier in Japan. There was little sentiment in favor of such a measure, and with the coming of the allied victory and Korea's release from Japanese domination, the idea appears to have been quickly abandoned. There seems to be little prospect of a united Protestant Church in Korea at any time in the near future.

3. Added to these more formal measures was the cruel persecution of individual Christians. Untold sufferings were endured by men and women who refused to conform even where the pressure of police power was applied with increasing severity. Threats, imprisonment, torture, and other extreme measures were employed. One of the favorite methods of torment was the "water cure." The victim was tied hand and foot, and water was poured into his nostrils through a rubber hose or the spout of a kettle until he suffered all of the effects of drowning. Sometimes this treatment was repeated over and over again. Many, unable to endure these sufferings, yielded to practices they did not approve. The spirit to protest wrong was broken by fear and intimidation, principles gradually yielded under force, processes of rationalization were employed to ease the conscience, "crossing the fingers" was accepted as morally permissible, and little by little a habit of conformity was developed which threatened the distinctive monotheism of the Christian faith. Caesar was exalted above God, religious liberty was denied, conscience was no longer free. Anyone who set himself against the policies of the government and the idolatrous exaltation of the emperor exposed himself to reprisals of the most drastic character. That there were still thou-

sands who in the face of these things were ready to suffer imprisonment, persecution, and death for their faith, gave evidence of the real life and stamina of the Korean Church.

### What Is the Present Situation in Korea?

1. From the political and economic standpoint, Korea's present plight is almost alarmingly confused. Accounting in large measure for the chaotic conditions that exist is the division of the country into two parts. The Americans in the south represent one set of ideals and principles, while the Russians, occupying that part of Korea north of the thirty-eighth parallel, hold to another ideology. So far all efforts have failed to find any basis of agreement by which an integrated control of all Korea might be established, and the Koreans themselves are the victims of the disagreements between the occupying forces. The dual control bids fair to lengthen the period of occupation, as the difficulty of setting up a local government, nationally representative and satisfactory to both halves of the country, is immeasurably complicated.

The United States on her part is anxious to terminate the period of trusteeship and leave Korea to a government of her own choosing; but this presupposes a willingness on Russia's part to withdraw at the same time, something that she appears to be in no hurry to do. Unilateral action on the part of the United States, withdrawing her forces, would merely be an invitation to Russia to come in and occupy the entire peninsula.

In the meantime Russia is actively training a large force of Koreans in the principles of communism, and it is rumored that she would leave them well armed in case she should move out of her zone under pressure or protest. The Koreans in the south, on the other hand, are friendly toward the principles of democracy. Some observers are apprehensive lest, when the occupying forces are withdrawn, rival political elements within the nation should precipitate civil war. So sharp are the differences between Leftists and Rightists that the

prospect of national accord is none too bright. It is said that there are seventy-two recorded political parties in Korea. All sorts of pretenders are coming forward with their claims to a place in the new regime. It is not surprising, after years of domination by other powers, that there should be no ready-made government in Korea that is prepared to step into the breach.

All of this is intensely disappointing to the Korean people, who are now growing restive under the slow turn the political situation is taking. Some are asking where the liberty is that they were promised, and are complaining that the Allied victory, far from giving the Koreans their independence, has placed them under two oppressors instead of one!

Accompanying the confusion in the political situation is the widespread disorder that prevails throughout the country. A general breakdown in the discipline of the people is noticeable. There has been an increase of lawlessness and of immorality. Rioting and mob violence are not infrequent. Disease is prevalent, and supplies of medicines are low. Cholera, smallpox, and typhus are threatening the country, and the fight is on to keep these diseases from becoming epidemic. Inflation has soared to unprecedented levels and is adding to the misery and poverty of the people. A straw hat sells for $40 to $50 in American money; a box of matches may be had for fifty cents; shoes are worth from $55 to $75 a pair; a servant's wages are from $40 to $80 a month, ten times the normal prewar figure!

2. From the standpoint of the Church, the present situation in Korea is far more encouraging. The Christian community, shaken as it is by the experience through which it has passed, has emerged from its ordeal with a strong testimony. Says Dr. Douglas Horton, a member of the Christian deputation to Japan and Korea, "The Christians in Korea have saved Christianity as one of the vital forces there. They have gone to prison, and some have gone to their deaths. They have their churches and they are a power in Korea. They have gone through a long generation of oppression and with flying colors. Christianity is more alive in Korea than it has ever been before."[4]

There has been a quick rallying of those activities of the Church that suffered interruption and dislocation during the war. The majority of the Christian pastors are faithfully caring for their flocks. Most of the churches are crowded Sunday after Sunday. A general recovery is in progress. The Christian young people are especially in earnest, and are touring the country organizing new societies and reviving activities that were forbidden during the war.[5]

North of the thirty-eighth parallel, in Russian-occupied territory, the Church is still under persecution. A prominent pastor was recently ridden through his city in an oxcart as an ordeal of humiliation. Other pastors have been thrown into prison. Despite these conditions, the Church is growing even in that part of the country. There is clearly a virility about the Korean Christian community that has not been destroyed by the sufferings through which it has come.

One of the most touching things about the Church in Korea is the agony of remorse that many of the ministers and members are feeling over the compromises to which they consented under official Japanese duress. The spirit of repentance is running deep in the hearts of the Korean Christians. Groups of pastors and evangelists have gathered in retreats for confession, for fasting and prayer. Many have implored the forgiveness of God with tears. The first act of one presbytery at its initial meeting after the war was to make formal confession of the sins committed under pressure, to express a sincere repentance, and to ask the mercy and pardon of God. There is power in a church that is willing thus to acknowledge wrongs and to come penitently before God seeking new supplies of grace and strength.

3. The rehabilitation of the work of our own Korea Mission is definitely under way. Already, four members of our Korea Survey Committee have arrived on the field. Others will be sailing soon, and the long-awaited resumption of our work is at hand.

To be sure, we must expect a difficult period of readjustment to the changed situation. There will be a new spirit of initiative and self-dependence among the Korean Christian leaders. Mission-Church relationships may have to undergo considerable modification. The

drastic increase in the cost of missionary work, due to the unprecedented inflation, will require a careful examination of every item as to its place and value in the program. In Korea, as in China, heavy property losses have been suffered that can be replaced only at great cost. At present, major repairs are out of the question because materials are not available; but we must look forward to the early renovation of our essential Mission installations even though the expense of labor and of supplies will be abnormal.

Despite these problems, the great fact outshining all others is that we are back in Korea; the doors are open again. Once more the bells will ring from the church towers of the Hermit Nation.

### What Is the Outlook and Opportunity for the Christian Church in Korea?

Fully recognizing the difficulties inherent in the situations outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, we nevertheless find elements which justify great expectations for the Korean Church of tomorrow. An examination of these will impress us with the brightness of the prospect.

Consider, for example:

1. The deep spiritual rootage of the Korean Church. The Koreans have shown themselves amazingly responsive to the Christian Gospel. Indeed, this has been in many respects the most remarkable mission field in the world. Some people have supposed that the Koreans possess a particular genius for Christianity. By an appropriate pun on their national name, they have been called the "Chosen People" of the Orient. Nowhere has the Christian Church made more remarkable progress, and nowhere has it achieved a standard of spiritual excellence that more nearly approaches the Christian ideal. In Bible study, church attendance, habits of prayer, observance of the Sabbath, personal work, liberality in giving, capacity for suffering, faithfulness in witnessing, and consistent Christian living, the Korean Christian

has proven the genuineness of his faith. Dr. John R. Mott, after a visit to Korea several years ago, offered the following testimony:

> "I came away from that country believing that if Christianity were to die out in America and in Canada and in England, it exists with such vitality in Korea that it would ultimately spread again to our shores and re-establish itself."[6]

2. Shintoism is doomed. The chief obstacle to the growth of the Christian Church in Korea during the past ten years has been the spiritual and physical oppression growing out of the government's insistence that every Korean must conform at least to the outward requirements of emperor worship. One must needs go back to the persecution of the Christians under the early Roman emperors to find a parallel. The whole power and authority of a modern state have been used to force the people of Korea into idolatrous observances directed primarily against the Christian conscience and Gospel.

But all this is changed. Japan's control has been broken, and the political independence of Korea is assured. Shinto is gone, and its shrines have been destroyed by fire and demolishment. Koreans have found great satisfaction in the collapse of the whole Shinto system, which they have always despised as the spiritual symbol of Japan's political and ideological control and of their own subject condition. Thus Christianity is freed from the most formidable opposition it has had in the Far East.

3. The Christian Church in Korea is rid of official disabilities under which it has long suffered. For more than three decades Christian work has been hampered under the Japanese regime. Government jealousy of the influence of missionaries expressed itself in efforts to parallel or supersede the work done in mission schools and hospitals. Rival institutions, built by government money, were deliberately placed in communities where missionaries had long been at work, often on sites immediately adjacent to the Christian hospitals or schools. Work done in Christian institutions was discredited without reference to the quality of the instruction. Graduates were

penalized, their diplomas discounted when they were presented for entrance into higher schools. Only by registering with the authorities and conforming to requirements of a compromising character could Christian schools be free from these disabilities.

Christian missions desires no odds. It does not seek the special favor of governments. It asks only for freedom to proclaim its message without prejudice or favor. That such an official attitude of equity is in prospect constitutes one of the brighter aspects of the outlook for the work in Korea.

4. Special opportunities in education and medical service. If there has been need for mission schools in the past, the necessity for such centers is now greatly augmented by the collapse, with Japan's defeat, of the whole school system imposed and maintained by the Japanese government. This, it must be remembered, represented the major part of the educational facilities of Korea. The people are now confronted by so serious a problem with respect to the education of their youth that the resumption of work by the Christian schools will be hailed with cordial approval and enthusiasm.

Similarly, there is urgent need for the reopening of our Mission hospitals and the expansion of our program of medical service. With a very few exceptions, all of Korea's up-to-date hospitals have been government-operated and, therefore, largely under Japanese direction and control. A high proportion of the doctors and surgeons and other medical personnel in these hospitals has been Japanese. The collapse of Japanese rule in Korea has already resulted in serious dislocations in the program of medical service throughout the nation, with the possibility that many hospitals may have to be closed. Imagine, then, the unprecedented opportunity that confronts us in medical missions. Through a merciful service to the Korean people in the hour of their political resurrection, who knows what openings may be offered for the entrance of the Gospel into countless hearts and lives?

It is not necessary to await the formal opening of our own schools and hospitals. This may require some time in view of the damage that must be repaired, the shortage of materials, the exorbitant cost of

labor, and the general inflationary situation that may render any immediate building program impracticable. In the meantime, we are assured that there is an open door for our missionaries in the Korean state schools and hospitals. These institutions are suffering from an acute shortage of competent personnel. There is here the possibility of developing a technique, seldom used in the past, of putting missionary doctors, nurses, and teachers into Korean institutions in much the same way that teachers of Bible have been introduced into the public schools of our own country.

The particular needs of Korea, both in education and in medicine, offer us a coveted opportunity to serve the nation in its present emergency and to win a strategic place for the Gospel in the life and thought of the people.

5. The Christian Church will supply a large part of the new leadership of Korea.

It seems likely that the government of independent Korea will be democratic in form. This would be a natural reaction away from the hated imperialism of thirty-odd years of Japanese control. It might also be expected to follow as the consequence of Korea's liberation by the concerted efforts of the great democracies. The prestige of democracy should be high.

There will be two groups in Korea that have been especially trained in leadership:

One is the collaborationists, who have learned the theory of government under their Japanese masters; the other is the Christian group, especially the Presbyterians, who have in their church life discovered the principles of democratic procedure. The former group are not in favor at the present time, and if the Koreans are free to choose their own form of government it seems likely that many Christians may come into positions of influence and authority.

Indeed, the extent to which Christians have already been drafted into various types of official and public service is amazing. "Of the government-sponsored delegation of six Koreans now in the United States, picked out by the American military authorities to plan the

future of Korea, all six are Christians and five of the six were educated in our Christian schools."[7]

Rev. William C. Kerr, missionary of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., writing from Seoul on February 13, 1946, remarks:

> "Strange it is to enter the Capital and see only American and Korean faces, and almost miraculous to see what a large proportion of Christians is to be found among the Koreans who have been chosen to build a new Korea. Why, one of them has just been chosen as governor of this province in which the capital city is located, and the leadership of several of the governmental bureaus is in their hands."[8]

Again, Mr. Kerr comments:

> "And what a welcome surprise it has been to see in positions of responsibility in the government so many of those who were prominent in church and school and hospital before—men now who have been boys in mission institutions, and many of whom had been through trying experiences in jail and prison, because the Japanese overlords wanted them weaned away completely from all that was western and apparently thought that the way to make them co-operative was to cudgel them into it. Now these same people are helping in the restoration of their country."[9]

And Dr. R. M. Wilson, now in charge of all leper work in Korea under the United States Military Government, adds:

> "I find some fine Christian men connected with the government. Six of our Christian doctors are Vice-Governors."[10]

Dr. Douglas Horton of the Christian deputation to Japan and Korea summarizes the matter concisely when he says:

> "The Christian Church is undoubtedly the group, and the largest group, which more than any other is capable of holding together and contributing to the destiny of that country (Korea)."[11]

6. There is a cordial attitude toward America. For many years Korea has regarded the United States as her special friend among the greater world powers. She has looked toward us as the source from which deliverance would one day come to the nation. The crushing of the power of Japan, primarily through the strength of American arms, and the resulting liberation of Korea from the yoke of oppression, should greatly strengthen the ties of friendship and respect for our country.

In all of this the missionary shares. National attitudes are reflected very quickly in personal relationships between the missionary and the people of the country where he serves. Koreans are manifesting today a cordial and eager desire to have the missionaries return to the field. Importunate pleas are coming to the Foreign Mission boards of the United States, pleas that touch the heart by their sincerity and by the depth of respect and affection that they reveal.

A group of eight missionaries, meeting in Seoul on April 2, 1946, have summarized the Korean attitude in the following words:

> "It is apparent to all of us that the Koreans are unanimous in their desire for the early return of the missionaries and for continued co-operation by the older churches of the West and the churches here. Not only Christians but many prominent non-Christians have voiced the hope that American and other missionaries would continue their 'good work' here. Such individuals are largely moved by the desire to receive the help so obviously needed by Korea along many lines of social service. However, some even of the non-Christians have spoken of the character building done by Christian schools and of the psychological, if not spiritual advantages. Among the Christians there is sincere desire for a real spiritual revival as a preliminary to other forms of 'revived' life in Korea. In this work as in the social work they desire the aid and advice of the missions and missionaries. Every denomination has sent representatives to one or other of us and often to several to ask when the missionaries might be expected and to plead for their early return in large numbers."

7. The door is wide open for a great forward movement in evangelism. Says the Rev. F. H. Pyen, pastor of the East Gate Methodist Church of Seoul:

> "As never before Korea can be brought to Christ. The local churches are increasing in their membership and attendance. Christians are present in political, social, and business leadership. It is our hope that Korea may send missionaries to other parts of the non-Christian world. Before Korea can do that, Korea itself must be Christianized. Three million Koreans must all be brought to Christ. To do that we need missionaries from America and other sending countries as never before."[12]

Now is the time for a vigorous program of evangelism. This is placed last in order to give it emphasis as the supreme concern in all our planning for the Korea of tomorrow. It is important that such an evangelistic crusade should be undertaken without delay, while the country is forming its new patterns of life and thought and before there comes a crystallization of national attitudes and outlook. The heart of Korea has been deeply touched. Feelings of gratitude toward those who have struggled for her liberation are deep and sincere. While this favorable mood is upon the nation and her heart is warm and responsive, while her soul is lifted toward God out of deep humiliation, we must not fail to present that One to whom Korea has already been so strongly attracted and who would claim her yet greater devotion.

*Chapter VII*

# AFRICA ON THE THRESHOLD

THE big C-54 of the Air Transport Command stood trim and ready at the American Army Air Base in Natal, Brazil. The five members of the crew went aboard and the pilot motioned to me to follow. It was five minutes to seven in the morning and the tropical sun, brilliant and clear, had just risen above the eastern horizon. I went up the big stairway and stepped inside; the door was shut and bolted; the crew went forward to the control room and closed the partition behind them.

I looked around. Here I was, the only passenger, military or civilian, Barbarian, Cythian, bond or free! It was as though the United States Army had placed a special plane at my disposal, and I adjusted myself to the idea of rattling around, all alone, in the cavernous interior of this mammoth plane, crossing the Atlantic Ocean in solitary confinement!

The four motors were whirring now, and we taxied down to the end of the field where we stopped for several minutes while the pilot tested each engine separately. Everything seemed in order. We moved onto the runway, the motors roared, we swept forward in a glorious surge of power with that magnificent striving which is the thrill of the take-off, and the ship lifted easily from the ground and soared away into the blue. In less time than it takes to tell it, we sailed out over the coast, with the broad Atlantic below us and the shores of Brazil dropping away behind. For the first fifteen or twenty minutes there was some turbulence and the ship flew rather unsteadily; but presently, with fair weather overhead and soft clouds like tufts of cotton floating below, we settled into a smooth glide at

7,000 feet. Twenty-five hundred miles away across that vast expanse of water lay Africa.

For one who has always been cowardly about flying, the thought of crossing the ocean alone was little short of terrifying. After all, the thing didn't make sense. To fly for hours on end over the boundless waste of water with nothing but wheels underneath still seems contrary to all rules of science, or logic, or common sense that I have known.

If only there were another passenger along, preferably some godly person from whom, perchance, one might borrow a measure of protection through his assured standing in the divine favor! Friends who have chided me about my lack of faith have reminded me of Paul's voyage to Rome, where an entire crew was saved because of the presence of one righteous man; but I call to mind another ship that was bound for Tarshish, and one may be uncertain whether he is playing the role of Paul or of Jonah!

To me navigation has always seemed a wonderful science, but never did it appear so marvelous and God-given as at that moment when, after seven hours of flying, an infinitesimal speck rose out of the blue of the wide ocean ahead. Ascension Island is so small that the cartographers have had to exaggerate it to make it show on the map, but it grew more distinct by the second as we flew toward it at three and one-half miles a minute. There it stood before us now in plain view, a great volcanic rock, a huge cinder sticking up out of the water, bleak and bare except for the little patch of green at its loftiest summit. Its charred and vulcanized surface showed in the sunlight with the various colors and tones that are typical of volcanic formations—blue, orange, violet, purple, yellow, and red. It was a fantastic sight, with a weird and ghastly beauty all its own, like a huge chunk of ore that had been heated in the furnace and then allowed to cool, but retaining still the iridescent quality that the fires had given it.

How a landing field was ever built on that pile of lava is a story that no doubt will be told one day. It is a marvel of engineering.

Yet, it affords only a rather precarious perch for such birds of the air as our C-54. At the near end was a cliff. To let down too soon would be to crash into the wall that rose out of the sea. It would be equally dangerous to wait too long and overrun the short field and plunge over the other precipice at the far end. The pilot did a superb job of it, clearing the near wall by only a few feet and bringing the wheels down on the runway with scarcely a jar just as we reached the smooth paved surface. Seven hours and seven minutes from Natal to Ascension, and fifteen hundred miles of the Atlantic Ocean were behind us!

The sun was hot at Ascension but the southeast trade wind was cool and invigorating. We spent a little over an hour on the island while the plane was being checked and refueled for the next jump to Africa. At 3:19 p.m., exactly, we roared up the runway again and, with engines racing at full power, lifted off the precipice at the far end, floated out over the rocks below, and took our course almost due north for Roberts Field in Liberia. Only one thousand and twenty more miles to go! I took off my Mae West.

We flew on, hour after hour, and the monotonous droning of the engines began to cut a groove in one's consciousness. The overtones of the motors rose and fell in exact cycles of six seconds. Darkness came, and I missed the fascination of watching the endless seascape below; but my spirits were rising as I knew that each moment brought us nearer to the friendly shores of Africa. Somewhere out there the great continent lay, with arms outstretched to take us into its warm and comforting embrace.

At fifteen minutes to eight, the engineer came back and said that we would be landing at Roberts Field in a quarter of an hour. I began looking for the lights. At eight-ten we were still roaring through the sky, though we had let down to about three thousand feet. Eight-twenty, and still no signs of Africa! Eight-twenty-five; where were we? Had we lost our course? Eight-thirty! The plane banked sharply and under the right wing, by the diffused light of the moon, I caught one fleeting glimpse of the long white line of

surf breaking on the African shore as we swept in over the coast. There was a flash in the window and the beacon at Roberts Field was winking us a welcome through the low-hanging clouds. If the portals of heaven are more beautiful to the eyes of the careworn pilgrim than that lone light that shattered the darkness with its momentary ray, we have something wonderful in store for us. We circled over the airport, went out to sea again, and came in straight with the runway. I fastened my safety belt and presently felt the wheels come down on the landing strip. We rolled on in and stopped in front of the field house. I was in Africa! I felt that God was very near as I lifted a song and a prayer in my heart to Him that night.

### African Vignettes

The next stage of the journey, 700 miles along the coast on the underside of the continental bulge to Accra, afforded the first glimpses of the African landscape. From our height of 9,000 feet the French Ivory Coast revealed a thick succession of villages. The line of the shore was remarkably regular, with beaches all along. Back of the beach the forests began. The villages were set in clearings that showed slightly red from our elevation, evidently a mixture of sand and clay from which all grass and vegetation had been swept clean. Adjoining these settlements were groves of palms, planted in rows, making a regular and measured pattern. The villages themselves had a fairly well defined "main street," with sometimes a cross street or two. Often there was a large enclosure somewhere near the center of the village, with an edifice of peculiar design, larger than the rest, which one took to be a religious temple or a "palaver house." Around the communities and their plantations the forests closed in, and numerous lakes, large and small, stretched away inland as far as one could see. It was a beautiful sight, green and fresh.

The ten-day wait at Accra, capital of the British Gold Coast, a city of 80,000 inhabitants, offered the first impressions of native life. To be sure, the relatively advanced condition, social, economic, and political, that these people have attained in the port cities of the West

Coast is not to be compared with the primitive levels of life that one finds in Central Africa; nevertheless, they are a part of the complex picture of the continent as a whole.

One morning, a strange rhythmic shuffling sound, accompanied by a whining refrain played on strings, attracted my attention. A hundred yards away fifteen or twenty black boys were cutting the grass with their long knives on an open plot of three or four acres, and, following them around from place to place, an "orchestra" of four others was playing a lively rhythmic tune while the knives slashed in perfect beat with the time. There were two single-stringed fiddles, the sounding box made of half a gourd with skin drawn tightly across. The other two musicians had round ball-like gourds, apparently filled with seed of some kind, which they shuffled back and forth from one hand to another with a rhythm that irresistibly set one's feet to moving. It was primitive African boogie-woogie, the unmistakable ancestor of the American variety! These musicians are a part of the gang, and the boys will not work without them. When you hire the grass-cutters, you must pay for the orchestra as well. One day the players did not appear. They had struck for higher wages. No grass was cut that day!

The Accra market was a buzzing beehive with swarms of black people and a thousand dingy little booths offering their quaint merchandise for sale—fruits, kola-nuts, peppers, tomatoes, cassava, paw-paws, and an assorted array of curios, knives, daggers, silver bracelets, fetishes, novelties of ivory and ebony, handbags of alligator or animal skins—the whole scene a wild commotion of black babies, children, men, and women. Piles of dried fish made the place too highly scented to be pleasant, but one found himself fascinated by the strange pattern of life before him. These thousands had come in from the country, bringing their handmade or hand-grown products on their heads, hoping to find a sale for them in the more lucrative market of the city. Here and there, families of black people sat huddled on the ground, cooking their meals on little open fires, reaching in with their hands to

select the relishes they liked best. It was a grand picnic, bazaar, and holiday all rolled into one.

Down at the beach the fishing fleet was coming in. The boats were bearing toward the shore with sails full spread, riding the swells, avoiding the hidden rocks, being landed skillfully through the booming surf as lithe black-skinned bodies, shiny in the sun, jumped into the water and pushed them ashore. Hundreds of little blacks that had been swimming around like a school of porpoises swarmed over the boats as they were beached, to see and admire the catch.

Everywhere on the street one was besieged by a dozen peddlers, with their tempting wares of carved ivory and beaten silver, asking exorbitant prices and happily accepting one-third of their original demand.

The two morning papers in Accra—the *Morning Post* and the *Spectator Daily,* both edited by natives, in the English language—were a source of unending interest, instruction, and delight. They offered a fascinating mirror of African life, its tribal organizations and social patterns, its nationalistic aspirations, its superstitions, witchcrafts, chicaneries, sorceries, immoralities, conflicts, hopes, and ideals. The English was quaint, with a marked British tone borrowed from the colonial influence, yet replete with strange words that reflected a mind wholly unlike anything I have met before. One learned, for example, that in this British economy kings occupy "thrones"; governors, "chairs"; ministers of portfolio, "desks"; but the humble symbol of authority reserved for the African chief is a "stool." I was bewildered one morning by a headline in the *Spectator Daily* which announced, "Omanhene Destooled." It appeared that a chief had been deprived of his office for some abuse of his authority. But the report proved premature, and the following day the paper published a correction with this colorful caption: "Omanhene Un-destooled"!

Against the prevailing background of superstition and spiritism it was encouraging to see that Christianity has taken strong hold upon these people and that there are large and flourishing churches well filled with devout, God-fearing people. In Accra, the Methodist and

Presbyterian Churches, both entirely under native control, have great and influential congregations. As one might expect, the Church of England is also deeply rooted there, its ritualism appealing strongly to the African love of pageantry. To be sure, the natives sometimes introduce into their Christian observances certain forms that to us appear exotic; but the African mind and heart do not express reverence and worship in the identical forms to which we are accustomed. Theirs is a warmer, more emotionally expressive experience, in contrast with which ours, no doubt, seems coldly intellectual and undemonstrative.

I was reminded of this by the procession that I witnessed one day of the Guild of the Good Shepherd of Holy Trinity Parish. In front was a large silk standard with the figure of Christ as the Good Shepherd. Behind this came a long double column of men and women, one file on each side of the street, the procession including many of the elite of Accra's African society. The women were all dressed alike in long blue and white robes, carrying tall shepherds' crooks and, tucked under their arms, life-sized stuffed or rag-doll lambs! Their dresses, too, carried a pattern of lambs printed or woven into the fabric. Between the columns marched the dignitaries, the Bishop, vestrymen, and officers of the Guild. The whole procession moved with a rhythmic, shuffling dance, chanting a hymn as they went and accompanied by a large band. There must have been at least 400 in this strange pageant that passed before my eyes. I was distinctly shocked at first, but subsequent experiences have taught me that this is the African's way of bringing the message to his own people through forms and imagery that they can understand, though the pageantry was too literal and realistic for our more restrained Scotch-Presbyterian tastes.

### Colonial Policy

We have been accustomed to think of Africa as the black man's country; yet, few areas of the world are more widely dominated by the white man. With the exception of little Ethiopia, little Egypt, and

little Liberia, all the rest of the continent is under the control of a half-dozen European powers.

It would be presumptuous to assay any appraisal here of European colonial policy in Africa. No one can spend a few weeks in this vast continent with its complex economic and political situations and emerge competent to analyze the difficult task of colonial administration. Those who are charged with the responsibilities of government in these dependencies would have every right to sneer at any judgment expressed by persons who had not actually grappled with the problems inherent in the situation.

Nevertheless one may be permitted to share some impressions, even on the basis of admittedly superficial observation. The official statements of colonial policy are admirable in the spirit and purpose that they reflect. Altruistic in aim, they look toward the uplift and ultimate self-determination of the native people. In deed, however, the idealism of these statements is strongly tempered by practical considerations, and one feels that the day of their ultimate realization is still far off. Actually the touchstone of African colonial policy still appears too often to be the exploitation of the black man in the interest of the dominating group. One does not overlook the considerable contributions that these administrations have made in railroads, highways, stable governments, law and order, education, industry, and production; nevertheless, the impression persists that on the whole the colonial policy is white-man centered, and has not yet ripened into a forthright purpose to help the black man, for his own sake, to reach the fulfillment of his best capacities.

This applies even to the Belgian Congo, in many respects the best of the colonial administrations that I had opportunity to see. Splendid highways traverse the whole area, but I recall having seen only one automobile owned by a native African. Airlines criss-cross the Congo in every direction, yet not once did I find a black man enjoying the luxury of flying. The Congo is rich in natural resources—rubber, copper, diamonds, cotton, tobacco, cattle, copra, palm oil, and timber—but the exploitation of this wealth is almost exclusively the white

man's prerogative, and the native finds his place in the scheme merely as an implement of production for the enrichment of the white man's coffers. In many places, quotas of production are assigned to the villages. The chief and his people are held responsible for these assignments, and penalties are imposed when the full allotments are not forthcoming. Prices are controlled, and the native receives scant return for his toil. The whole system seems close to a form of economic slavery.

Recently the London *Times* spoke of colonial trusteeship as "the preliminary stage to unfettered internal and external authority." Commenting on this, the *African Morning Post* observed in an editorial: "In this old conception there is a vital missing link, and that link is the time factor . . . There are some territories, under colonial tutelage for several centuries, with no sign of advancement toward internal or external autonomy or any preliminary action toward it. In many instances, colonial powers have been accused of deliberately delaying progress, lest the colonial peoples concerned attain autonomy in too early a period."[1]

Making all allowances for the eagerness of hopes long deferred, and for a lack of experimental appreciation of problems of government, there is still something here to think about. Are the Africans ready for a fuller degree of self-government? I do not know. But the question keeps coming back: "Have they ever had a fair chance to try, with all the helpful assistance that the white man can give?" Until the motive and mood of colonial policy turn black instead of white there is little prospect of improvement.

I am not suggesting immediate autonomy for the African. Let me repeat, this is something for those who know what they are doing, who are qualified by experience and understanding to face these issues. I *am* pleading for a change of heart toward the black man, an interest in him for his own sake, and a sincere, sympathetic purpose to help him realize the dignity that God has given him.

Long before one has reached the Congo, the huge size of this great continent begins to impress itself on the mind. With its more than eleven million square miles, Africa is the second largest land mass on earth. You can spread the United States three times over the map of Africa and still have large strips left over around the edges. The 2,400-mile stretch from Liberia to the mouth of the Congo is surpassingly beautiful—vast forests, alive and green in this area of heavy rainfall; innumerable lakes, with all the fantastic shapes of water seeking its levels; the long sandy beach that stretches like a silver margin all along the coast; the great Atlantic, blue as the sky under the tropical sun, rolling in from the south and spreading great scallops of white foam on the shore. Back from the coast the hills rise toward the high country in the interior, the tablelands, where even in this equatorial region the nights are cool and refreshing.

Leopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo, lying on the south bank of the Congo River three hundred miles from its mouth, is a modern and beautiful city, well-planned, with parks and broad boulevards, fine public buildings, good restaurants, splendid hotels, handsome homes, busy waterfront, and lively industrial activity. The gateway to the whole vast Congo basin, it is a place of great commercial importance as well as the seat of the colonial government. It is the center, too, of many union Mission activities: The Congo Protestant Council, co-ordinating the work of all the Protestant Missions in the Colony; the Union Mission House, a friendly hostel maintained by the co-operating Missions for members passing in transit to and from their fields of work in the interior; the Union Press, a center for the production and the distribution of Christian literature both in French, the official language, and in the dialects of the region. At this writing one of our own missionaries, Dr. Vernon A. Anderson, is serving in the important position of Secretary of the Council.

As one sits on the upper porch of the Union Mission House, facing the north, the near bank of the river is only two hundred yards away, and through the tall palms he catches an entrancing view of the broad

expanse of open water that is known as Stanley Pool. Beyond, on the far shore, is the French town of Brazzaville, where De Gaulle set up his first headquarters as Commander of the Free French forces in the World War. To the left, the waters of the pool are moving toward the narrow vortex into which they rush with a roar and begin their boisterous and turbulent descent through the gorges to the sea. At night, when everything is still, one hears the distant thunder of the rapids which start at the lower end of the city.

One is moved by deep emotions as he meditates on the associations that crowd around this historic place. Here Stanley pitched his camp on the memorable expedition that opened the whole unexplored length of the Congo River to the eyes and the trade of the world. Here Lapsley and Sheppard came, fifty-five years ago, after their hot and tedious journey from the coast, walking the trail around the two-hundred mile stretch of rapids, for there was no railway then, and breaking ground for the great work in the interior that has become the crowning glory of our Foreign Mission work. And it is down the river not far away, in a shady place, that Lapsley lies sleeping until the day when the trumpet shall sound.

### The Kasai and Its People

A thousand miles inland from the West Coast, lying between two great tributaries of the Congo River, the Kasai and the Sankuru, is a region the size of North and South Carolina which is called the Kasai. This is the territory in Africa assigned to the Presbyterian Church in the United States as its missionary responsibility. It is a region of surpassing beauty, of great primeval forests with giant trees towering into the air, of rolling grass-covered plains, of clear rushing streams, of ten thousand villages nestled along the ridges and in the valleys. Lying, as it does, on the central plateau, with elevations varying from fifteen hundred to thirty-five hundred feet above sea level, its climate, though monotonous, is surprisingly temperate. During the two and a half months that I spent in the Kasai in the hot season, the highest thermometer that I saw was 87 degrees in the shade. The

nights are cool, and before morning one instinctively reaches for the comfort of a little cover.

Wild animals are plentiful in the whole region—elephants, antelopes, buffaloes, leopards, hyenas, hippopotamuses, crocodiles, monkeys, and reptiles. Fish abound in the lakes and streams, and our missionaries are frequently as adept with the rod and the gun as with their Bibles and Catechisms.

The tribal life of Africa is reflected in the miscellany of names that one encounters as he travels through the Kasai. In rapid succession he is introduced to the Bakubas, the Baketes, the Balubas, the Luluas, the Zapozaps, the Bena Kanyokas, the Babindis, the Basala Mpasas, and others too numerous to recall. Outstanding among these tribes are the Balubas, the most numerous and, in many respects, the most intelligent and capable of all the Kasai people. It was a providential hand that guided Lapsley and Sheppard in their early reconnoitering to select this region as the scene of our Africa work. The Balubas are physically tall and straight, quick to learn, possessed of qualities of spiritual leadership, and particularly open to the Gospel. They have never been effective at fighting, and have been dominated by all of the more warlike tribes by which they have been surrounded. But they are the Greeks of the Kasai, and have imposed their language and culture upon those by whom they have been enslaved, so that the Buluba dialect is known and understood throughout practically the whole region in which our missionaries are at work. The significant bearing of this on the spreading of the Gospel through preaching and the printed page will be apparent at once. It allows for the shifting of missionaries from place to place without the necessity of learning a new tribal tongue, and makes possible the publication of uniform literature, the use of the same Bible and hymnbook, the adoption of standard courses of language study and of common textbooks, and a general co-ordination of the media of work that would otherwise have been impossible.

The Kasai is a region of villages. There are no cities; and the five or six towns are actually European trading centers maintained largely

by Belgian, Portuguese, Italian, and Jewish mercantile firms. To be sure, an African village grows up around these centers, but the business is almost exclusively in the hands of the whites. The stores are well stocked with dry goods, groceries, hardware, and drugs, and our missionaries are now able to purchase a large part of their essential daily supplies not too far from the stations where they live.

The thousands of native villages that are spread through the Kasai area present a picture of life on the simplest level. The tiny huts stand in rows in clearings that have been stripped of every blade of grass, offering the appearance of a swept yard. Near by are the fields of corn, manioc, peanuts, and rice. Fruit-bearing trees are plentiful, especially the mango, the banana, and the palm. An assortment of domestic animals—sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens—shares the rude comfort of the villages with the human inhabitants, often finding shelter from the sun and the rain beneath the eaves of the tiny dwellings or actually within the huts themselves. On a hot afternoon, when the villagers are all out in the field, the animals take complete possession, and the visitor who pays a casual call should not be surprised if the only greeting he receives is a friendly "baa" from the goat at the door! The African goat is a beautiful animal, sleek and shiny, while the native sheep, almost devoid of wool, presents an unkempt and shorn appearance, as unsightly an animal as I have ever seen. The Scriptural figure of the sheep and the goats seems inverted to the African mind!

One is impressed by the uniformity of the little dwellings, almost identical in size and design, the chief alone boasting a somewhat more pretentious establishment. There is a sameness, too, in the vocations and occupations of the people. The professional stratification of life that we know in the higher civilizations of the West is conspicuous by its absence in the African village. You do not find a banker on your right, a merchant on your left, a lawyer across the street, a doctor in the next block, or a mechanic down at the corner; for all of the villagers are engaged in the same activities and are tackling life from the same angle.

The visitor is puzzled by the complete absence of any evidence of trade. There are no shops in the typical village of the Kasai. The reasons, of course, are obvious. What need is there for dry goods stores where the people wear no clothes, hang no curtains, and sleep without cover? The warm comfort of the climate makes clothing an unnecessary luxury. I recall the day when I met a family of the Babindi tribe on a balmy afternoon, a man and his wife and three children. You could have put the entire family wardrobe in the barrel of a flashlight without crowding it!

To be sure, there are certain considerations that will induce the African to wear clothes: one is vanity; another is prestige. The African woman, like her sister in this country, likes to adorn herself with vivid colors and patterns. If she can afford it, she may purchase a bolt of cloth from the white man and wrap it around herself until she looks like a chrysalis. When she goes in for clothes, she does not stop with halfway measures. It is all or nothing. She wears more clothing or less clothing than any other woman in the world. The men, too, having come, through the example of the white man, to associate clothing with a certain station in life, consider it quite the thing to procure a shirt and a pair of shorts, thus acquiring a status among their fellows. Even a straw hat, though worn as the one and only article of apparel, offers a certain distinction that is not to be ignored!

And what need is there for grocery stores? Why should I buy food from you when my fields and fruit trees produce the same crops as yours? Similarly, there is no sale in building materials. For every African house is composed of four simple elements—sticks, mud, vines, and grass—and all these are available in unlimited quantity within a few hundred yards of the village.

Social conditions in the African village, especially as regards the status of women, present a dark and discouraging picture. The African woman is the work horse of the family. She plants the seed, tills the soil, harvests the crops, prepares the food, and feeds her husband and her children. She bears the babies, nurses them through child-

hood, and trains them in the customs and traditions of native life. Of course the men are busy too, for there is much talking to be done in the regulation of community life, and the constant "palavers" occupy the full time and attention of the village fathers.

It is in the customs surrounding marriage that one sees most clearly the degraded status of the African woman as little better than a chattel or a piece of property. The goat is the common medium of exchange in paying the dowry price. A nice wife may be obtained for eight goats; a better one for ten; and some sort of wife can be had for a price even as low as six goats. When you get a man's goat in Africa you have deprived him of the means of matrimonial happiness!

An illustration or two will demonstrate the obstacles that the customs surrounding marriage present to the establishment of a Christian basis for family life in the Kasai. A man buys a wife for a price of eight goats. Soon after the marriage the young woman gets sick and dies. The husband, aggrieved, goes to the father and complains: "That woman you sold me has died; it seems to me that you owe me some adjustment"—just as if a new car had gone bad before the ninety-day guarantee was up. The father replies, "I have other daughters here; would you accept one of them in satisfaction?" Thus a second daughter is given in marriage. Alas! she, too, lives only briefly, and after a short illness is dead. The young husband complains, and a third daughter is added to the matrimonial transaction. There are cases on record where as many as four daughters out of one family have been given for the original purchase price of eight goats.

Or, take another case. A village youth purchases a wife for the price of six goats. She is very young, possibly not more than twelve. After two or three years, when she has blossomed into young womanhood and has acquired more grace and beauty, another young man in the village considers that she would be a suitable companion for his own hearth. He goes to the father and inquires what price he originally received for his daughter. The old man, suspecting what is up, misrepresents the deal and replies, "I sold her for eight goats." The new bidder says, "I'll give you ten for her now." The father then

approaches his son-in-law and offers to buy the girl back from him for eight goats. There is a nice profit all around. The young husband is satisfied; the father is satisfied; the new husband is satisfied. Of course the girl doesn't count! Thus in the course of several years it happens that a girl may be passed in turn from one husband to another, as new transactions are arranged in accordance with her development in womanly charm and attractiveness.

How can the missionary establish Christian ideals of family life and of the sanctity of marriage in the face of social customs such as these? Here is one of the great problems of our work in Africa. It is at this point that the Girls' Homes, erected a few years ago through the generous Birthday Gift of the Woman's Auxiliary, are rendering such a constructive service to the womanhood of Africa, teaching them the sacredness of marriage vows, inculcating the ideal of faithfulness to one husband, and laying a strong moral foundation for a Christian pattern of home life.

One looks long and hard for any evidence of real religious belief indigenous to the people of the Kasai. The villages are devoid of shrines or temples. The lifting up of the human soul toward a Supreme Being in worship, adoration, praise, and thanksgiving, seems to be unknown. On the contrary, the people live in virtual enslavement to superstitions and fears. Animism is the faith of the Kasai, if faith it may be called. It is a religion of "buckeyes" and "rabbits' feet" and "horseshoes." Not that the natives actually use these particular symbols; but any object, animate or inanimate, may be possessed of evil spirits ready to curse and blight the life of the village. It is a religion of dark fears and awful forebodings, of witchcraft and sorcery, of conjuring and mesmerism. No people that I have ever seen are as completely dominated by the expectation of impending evil. The fear-ridden faces of Africa's naked and ignorant people present a strong appeal to Christian love and sympathy and a heartbreaking plea for the emancipation and hope that the Christian Gospel brings. To lift this shadow from the life of Africa and to let the sunshine of God's love and blessing in upon the fearful darkness of heathenism—

this has been the urge that has called men and women away from home and fireside and friends to spend their lives in the heart of the Dark Continent.

## "What We Have Seen and Heard"

Such are the people among whom our missionaries are at work. One hundred men and women of our Church, established in nine central stations, are mediating Christ to two million people in Africa's very heart, and the story of what they have accomplished by the power of God's Spirit in these fifty-five years since Lapsley and Sheppard broke ground in the Kasai is an epic of missionary triumph and accomplishment. "Behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee." (Isaiah 60:2.)

A trip to Africa affords one a new perspective. Many of the commonplace things of life are illuminated by a new meaning and wonder. Let me share some of these impressions with you.

*1. I saw a man working.*

We had traveled far into the Southern Kasai and at 3:30 in the afternoon our car turned off the highway into a private concession. The smooth, well-graded road, flanked on each side by the close-cut green lawn, bespoke the care with which the place was tended. So this was Mboi, one of our newest mission stations, and hub of our work among the Babindi people! Approaching the center of the station area about a mile from the highway, we passed a cluster of small but trim native huts, about fifty in all, arranged in two rows.

"This," my companions explained, "is the workmen's village."

"What workmen?" I inquired.

"The men and women employed in the various activities of the station," they explained.

I did not comment at once, for a tumult of questions had risen in my mind. I had been told that Mboi was a small station and that no duplication was contemplated here of the elaborate programs of work

that had been developed at the more established centers such as Luebo and Mutoto. Further, I knew that the personnel of the station was supposed to consist of two missionary families and a nurse, and that one of the families, at the moment, was in the United States on furlough and the nurse assigned to the station had not yet arrived. My thoughts went back to my own missionary days in Japan and the little station that I occupied which boasted a total of two employees—a cook and a maid. What on earth could Mboi be doing with fifty houses full of workmen? Was it the policy of these missionaries to surround themselves with a whole army of employees and helpers?

It was fortunate that I kept most of these questions to myself, for they were graphically answered by the tour of the station on which Mr. and Mrs. Anderson took me a few days later. I discovered that the place was a veritable beehive. Down in a deep pit men were digging clay while others were carrying it up the slippery slope in baskets on their heads. Still others were operating the presses that molded the clay into bricks, while another group attended the kilns where the neatly formed cubes were being dried and burned. Out in the forest, trees were crashing and great logs were being brought up to the center of the station. Here a group of natives with hand saws were cutting the logs into boards, which were then stacked under sheds for seasoning. Near by, carpenters and masons were busily at work on the two missionary residences that were going up, one almost completed and the other rising barely a few feet above its foundations. Now and again water carriers, with containers hung on each end of a pole carried on the shoulder, went swinging by in a rhythmic half-trot, bringing water from the ravine a half-mile away. Mechanics were working on the station car, making it ready for tomorrow's trip. A native was charging batteries. Another was mending tires. Near by stood a man with a bucket full of salt. To my puzzled inquiry Mr. Anderson replied that this was an "egg man," one of several who foraged through the villages exchanging the salt for eggs with which to feed the station community. As the bucket was emptied of salt, it filled up with eggs. From time to time "runners" came in from

distant places in the Kasai, bringing messages from other stations or carrying the mail from Luebo 150 miles away. A group of about twenty-five natives were gathered around a strange wagon-like contrivance equipped with automobile wheels. They were making ready for a journey to Luebo to bring back a load of freight. Slow, to be sure, but cheaper than a 300-mile round trip by truck!

Near by, in the tiny station clinic, Mrs. Anderson was extending first aid and simple treatment to a wretched and sickly group of men, women, and children. Across the way, the station school was in session with its fine corps of native teachers and several hundred students. Here, too, was the church where the daily prayer meetings were held as well as the regular worship services on Sunday.

All this was only a part of the varied program of work that Mr. and Mrs. Anderson were carrying; for out in the country, covering a radius of fifty miles in every direction, lay the hundreds of Babindi villages, and already an extensive work of evangelism and education was under way at twoscore points throughout the area.

The technical and administrative tasks that a missionary must perform in Africa are simply amazing. He cannot lift the receiver of his telephone and summon the plumber to come in on the bus and fix his leaking drain pipe. There is no telephone; there is no bus; nor, incidentally, is there a plumber to call—nor any plumbing. The missionary is thrown upon his own resources. He must gather his workmen around him, train them in the techniques of their tasks, build a village to house them, and oversee their every activity. He is the over-all director of the whole community program and fulfills the varied functions of Mayor, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, City Engineer, Chairman of the Board of Trade, Superintendent of Education, Director of the Board of Health, Chief of the Bureau of Economic Administration, Postmaster, and Community Pastor. I am convinced that, all in all, the Africa missionary is the most competent person I have ever met.

After two and a half months of close observation, I share the high estimate of our missionaries expressed by the Rev. H. Wakelin Coxill,

Secretary of the Congo Protestant Council. They are indeed a group of "tall men and gracious women." Their resourcefulness and ingenuity are manifest in the very conditions of life with which they have surrounded themselves. One is amazed by the beauty and comfort of our station compounds, the green grass, the tall palms, the flowers, the substantial and attractive brick buildings, the water systems with which the residences are equipped, and the general aspect of order and planning. The social and domestic standards that our missionaries have maintained in the Congo are pleasing in the extreme. There has been no letdown here in manners or in other standards of genuine refinement. Their tables are beautifully set with spotless linen and pretty silver. Their servants are well trained. Social conversation around the table is delightful. There is an abundance of food, both in amount and in variety. Missionaries do not live extravagantly, but they live well and know how to plan a meal, from fruit cocktail right through to coffee and nuts and raisins.

For all this the missionary deserves credit, not criticism. That he has surrounded himself with beauty and order is not only in his favor, it is fitting in his role as ambassador of the Gospel of Christ. There is no reason why missionaries should live in unattractive and poorly kept surroundings, unless it be their own laziness. It dignifies the Message they bear and the Cause they represent when their homes and grounds are such as to command the respect of people who appreciate good taste.

2. *I saw a man reading.*

It was at Katenge, deep in cannibal country, that I saw, early one morning, a strange and pitiable sight that has etched itself upon my memory. Moving slowly toward us along the road, on his hands and knees, half crawling and half pulling himself over the ruts and the stones, came an African lad in his early teens, every foot of his progress gained with difficulty and pain. He had come from the cannibal village a half-mile away at the foot of the hill, and John Morrison explained that he made the round trip every day in order

to attend our flourishing regional school. As he dragged himself along to the place where we stood, I gazed into one of the most beautiful faces I have ever seen, a face radiant with a spiritual light, warm with an inner kindliness, bright and friendly, open and sincere. I shall not soon forget the winsome countenance so joyously reflecting the grace and the beauty that Christ imparts. It was as though the shining of the soul were all the brighter because of the marred and misshapen body out of which it glowed.

This lad with the face of an angel is a symbol of young Africa's thirst for knowledge today. One cannot realize the miracle of it unless he knows something of the development that has taken place in the Kasai during the past half-century.

When Lapsley and Sheppard reached Luebo fifty-five years ago, there was not a man, woman, or child in the entire Kasai who could read or write his own language. Indeed, the dialect had never been reduced to writing. The thought of translating ideas into visible form had not taken hold of the African mind. It was William M. Morrison who, with statesmanlike insight, realized that the most significant Christian progress could never be achieved among an illiterate people. Employing his special genius for language he adapted the English alphabet to the recording of the native words, and soon some of the more promising young men were gathered in classes, learning to read and write. These, in turn, were sent out to gather other groups around them and to share with them the new enlightenment that had come. It was a great day for the Kasai. The broad educational program of our Africa Mission was under way.

What transformations these fifty years have seen! Today, fifteen per cent of the natives of the Kasai can read; for the most part, these are people who have come in contact with our work. In the 1,200 schools now maintained by our Congo Mission, almost 40,000 boys and girls are enrolled. An army of 1,800 ministers and evangelists has been trained, men competent to stand before their congregations to expound the meaning of God's Word and to lead their people into spiritual growth. Even in the hundreds of village churches scattered

throughout the region, men and women open their Bibles to take part in the responsive reading or to follow the minister as he unfolds the passage of Scripture. When the people rise to sing, hymnbooks appear throughout the congregation as the worshipers join in the great old anthems of the Church. The whole Bible has been translated into the native tongue. From our printing press at Luebo, more than three million pages of literature are broadcast each year throughout the Kasai. For fifty years we have controlled the entire literature of a people, and they have had nothing to read except what is clean, wholesome, and upbuilding.

If one be startled by the amazing scope of our school program in Africa, he must remember that there is no public education in the Congo. With the exception of a few institutions devoted to the training of nurses and doctors' assistants, the government is doing nothing for the intellectual uplift of the masses. It is true that official subsidies are paid to the Catholic schools, but the burden of education is carried by the missionary agencies as a part of their service to the people. Protestant forces in the Congo are gratified by the change of policy recently announced by the Belgian Colonial Administration by which, from now on, equal subsidies are to be granted both to Protestant and to Catholic institutions. Whether such government assistance should be accepted or not is a question which remains to be considered, but the formal recognition of the principle of equality is a new and heartening evidence of the purpose of the colonial government to offer a just and equitable administration.

The so-called first degree schools which our Mission has established in hundreds of the villages are exceedingly simple both as to structure and curriculum. These are little more than "sheds," with half-height walls of sun-dried brick and upright poles supporting a grass roof. The benches are frequently nothing more than small logs. The sheds also serve as chapels where the village services are held. The course of study is normally two or three years.

Here and there regional schools are maintained to carry the courses of study a little higher and to provide educational facilities for a group

of villages. One of the most interesting experiences of my Congo visit was a private conference one night at Mushenge, capital of the Bakuba kingdom, with three princes of the blood who came to urge the establishment of a Christian regional school there in the very heart of the kingdom into which William M. Morrison and others tried to penetrate without success for years! At each of the main stations there are other schools of still higher standards where students are carried along another stage in the educational process.

As the capstone of this whole system of education, there is urgent need for the immediate development of four institutions of higher learning to serve the entire Mission in certain specialized types of training.

(1) Foremost is the Morrison Bible School. This institution, the chief center for the training of native ministers and evangelists, fills a paramount need in the whole program of the Mission. Probably no other single project in the entire scheme of our work is as vitally essential to the accomplishment of our task in Africa. The present site has been completely outgrown, and the relocation and expansion of this school is one of the imperatives before the Mission at the present time.

(2) Another obvious need is for a normal high-grade college to supply better-qualified teachers for the hundreds of schools that make up our educational work.

(3) There is a widespread native clamor for a vocational technical school where Congo youth will be trained for the many technological and industrial positions that are now opening to them with the expansion of industry in that area. Our African leaders are complaining that their young people are not prepared for practical careers by our present courses of study and that the choice jobs are going to the graduates of Catholic institutions where appropriate technical courses are being offered. They point out that the economic life of the native Church is dependent upon providing our African Christians with such training as will admit them to more productive sources of livelihood.

(4) An agricultural school is another outstanding need. The Kasai is essentially an agrarian community, and it is difficult to think of any educational project that might have more far-reaching effect in raising the general standards of living and of work, and in enhancing the prosperity of the Christian community in the villages. Objection has been made to technological training on the ground that it takes the native away from his home and sends him to the industrial centers where the moral surroundings are anything but good. But the agricultural school will train the young African for his place in the village, and offer him an opportunity to express his Christian faith literally down at the grass roots of native life.

We have here an unparalleled opportunity to capture the leadership of the future. The young native of today is school-conscious. We have brought to him, along with other things, the realization that he can never emancipate himself from the position of economic disadvantage and near serfdom in which he finds himself now, except by the acquisition of such skills and techniques as will enable him to take his place in the rapidly spreading economic development of his country. He is therefore determined to get this training wherever he can. He will seek it in our Protestant schools if he can find it there; but if he cannot, he will get it from the Catholics. The opportunity is ours today, but it may be gone tomorrow. A superlative chance is before us to put Christian men and women at the forefront in every phase of the life of a new and awakened Kasai.

3. *I saw a man worshiping.*

It is Sunday morning at Bulape and the great congregation of a thousand natives has gathered in the station church for worship. The African pastor is earnestly propounding the Gospel message, calling his people to repentance and faith. One is impressed by the reverent and unbroken attention, the eager concentration with which every listener waits upon the minister's words. The black bodies sit motionless, all eyes fixed upon the preacher's face. Even the children and the babies are quiet. One feels that the African Christian takes his

religion seriously and is moved by a deep sense of his dependence upon God.

There is a reason for this. Look at the man sitting there in the middle of the front row. He is practically naked. What is there of worldly confidence to offer him a sense of security? Of clothing he has none save the strip of loincloth that he wears. The tiny hut that affords him a shelter from wind and storm has no commercial value. He has no bank account. The simple utensils with which his frail house is equipped are worth not more than a dollar or two. There is a complete absence of those material safeguards with which we, in another civilization, cushion our lives, and in which, alas too often, we place our dependence rather than in the surety that we have in God. Little wonder the African Christian is deeply conscious of the heavenly Father's overbrooding presence like "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." We are not surprised to find his heart responding to the tender warmth and protection that God promises to throw over His children.

The nakedness of the congregation is shocking at first; but one comes presently to feel that there is something almost appropriate and fitting about it. Here the worshiper is stripped of all the shams and hypocrisies of man-made adornments. All pretentions of status and position are gone. And in his heart, as in his physical body, he sits in the presence of the Almighty who knows the thoughts and intents of our inward being, avowing with open frankness the nakedness of his very soul as God looks in upon it from above.

It is a thrilling and heartwarming experience to sit with one of these great congregations in our station centers. But more impressive still are the hundreds of village churches scattered throughout the Kasai area. After all, the station scene is, in a sense, an unnatural one. The people who gather there constitute a dislocated community. They are students who have come in from the villages to attend our institutions. They are doctors and nurses who conduct the work of the hospital or the clinic. They are workmen attached to the station to maintain its many activities. All have something to gain by being

there—an education, employment, opportunities for self-advancement. This is not to overlook the other motives of unselfishness, vocation, service, and spiritual development that move the hearts of these people. Nor should we forget that the whole work in the outlying villages depends upon these station centers where the leadership of the African Church is being trained.

But out in the villages one feels that he sees Christianity at work down at the very roots of African life. The simple people who gather in the humble sheds have nothing of material advantage to gain. It is the light and hope and joy of the Gospel that lure them. Out of their meager earnings they support their evangelist who ministers to them in spiritual things. They bring their offerings of manioc and corn, sometimes a little money, to foster the growth of the Kingdom of Christ in their midst. Nowhere on earth is there a sight more touching than the spectacle of an African Christian bringing a chicken, or a few eggs, or the products of his field, as an offering of thanksgiving to God his Maker. Here there is no seeking after loaves and fishes; here is a simple and sincere expression of Christian devotion and sacrifice.

The Church of the Kasai is growing into full stature. Already it numbers 60,000 communicant members, with a constituency, including catechumens and baptized infants, of more than 130,000. It has its organization of native presbyteries and sessions, its orders of ministers and elders; and while the missionaries still hold at this stage the veto power in matters of ecclesiastical jurisidiction, it is a rare thing that the decisions of the native session or presbytery are ever reversed by missionary action. The development of these people toward church autonomy and self-government in the brief decades that have elapsed since the first planting of the seed is one of the marvels of accomplishment in the Kasai.

What sort of Christian does the native make? It is not easy to draw spiritual comparisons, but one can say with confidence that the African convert, in his faithfulness to Christ and in the constancy of his Christian life, can take his stand beside his brother of the faith here

in America. To be sure, the pull is strong, in view of the heathenism all around, to lapse into the common degradations that are to be found in African society. The temptation to immorality is always great. The system of plural wives, long in vogue in the Congo, is a constant problem in the Church, where a strict monogamy is enjoined. Hence, great care is exercised in the acceptance of candidates for baptism, and severe tests are applied—tests that, in all frankness, could not be passed by many who are admitted into church fellowship in the United States. "The inquirer must be enrolled in a catechumen class and is required to attend daily for a period of four months, unless he is able to present a reasonable excuse. During two months he studies the catechism, . . . . the other two months being devoted to the larger study of Christian doctrine and test questions. Then he may be examined and if found satisfactory, he is placed in a probationer's class for two more months. Hence the minimum time for testing a candidate is six months."[2]

Furthermore, discipline is not dead in the Church of the Kasai, and a rigid standard of Christian uprightness in life is maintained by the sessions, which are ever vigilant over the conduct of the membership. On my visit to Mushenge, capital of the Bakuba kingdom, I learned that five of the nearest heirs to the throne were members of the church, and that four of these were at the time under discipline! Having heard of the power and pomp of the Bakuba kings, I wondered what group of elders has dared thus to impose the censures of the Church on offending members of the royal family. My good friend, Dr. Washburn, introduced me one day to the seasoned pastor and two elders who had not hesitated to carry the authority of the Church into the very precincts of African royalty. All three were themselves subjects of the Bakuba kingdom and under the rule of the sovereign, Lukenga. Their action was respected by the people, and the princes themselves were anxiously seeking by repentance and good works to secure their own restoration to good standing. No better illustration could be found of the power that the Church wields in the moral and spiritual life of the people.

The unreached villages of the Kasai constitute an ever-present challenge and appeal to our Congo Mission. Despite the far-flung scope of our work, there are still hundreds of communities where Christ has not been preached. And these villages are wide open, entreating us for the Gospel. Scarcely a day passes in the Kasai but that some chief sends messengers, or comes in person, to our mission stations pleading with our missionaries to send an evangelist to open a school and a chapel in his community. It was the appeal of this open door that provided the inspiration for Dr. Samuel Glasgow's great hymn, "How Long Must We Wait?"

The unique opportunity of the Church in African village life has no counterpart, so far as my experience goes, in any other mission field. First of all, the village itself is unique. It is small, seldom having more than 500 people. Its life is strangely unified: all live close together; all houses are on the same pattern; all engage in the same work; and all are under the authority of one chief. The evangelist holds a position of unrivaled leadership and prestige. He is the best educated man in the village, frequently the only person able to read and write; he has the best house; he wears the best clothes; and he is, the chief only excepted, the biggest man in the community.

The natural approach, then, in the Congo is not to the individual, nor even to the family, but to the community as a whole. When a church shed is built, it is built by the village; the whole population gathers round. In almost every service that I attended, I found the chief of the village present. Frequently the chief speaks of the evangelist as "my evangelist," and I shall not forget the earnest and importunate pleading with which an African "mukelenge" besought a missionary one day when he heard that "his evangelist" was about to be moved to another community. It is the testimony of our missionaries that hundreds of the villages of the Kasai are ours for the asking. We can have any village that we want and are willing to enter. The mission that gets there first is virtually assured of the whole community's following. Here, then, is a startling challenge from the Congo to our Church at home.

Even in the cannibal country in the far south of the Kasai the doors are open. The village of Turume has been one of the worst in all Congo. When I remarked to a state administrator that I understood the people of Turume used to feast on human meat, he said at once, "Used to! Why employ the past tense? They still do. That is one of the toughest places in all the Kasai." I arrived at Turume one day in the company of John Morrison, our missionary in that area. We were immediately surrounded by about 200 naked people, whose faces registered all the reactions of primitive amazement. The chief, a hard-bitten old vandal, was nevertheless quite cordial in his own uncouth way. He proudly displayed two large medals that he wore suspended around his neck, awards of some sort from the Colonial Administration. I was puzzled by these decorations, knowing the special reputation of this particular chief as one of the bad boys of the Kasai. It occurred to me that they might have been offered as an inducement to good conduct in the future, rather than in recognition of his deportment in the past!

While we were exchanging greetings with the chief, someone suggested that there were swarms of monkeys in the forests a short distance away, and asked if we would like to go hunting. We accepted this invitation and presently found ourselves following a trail through the long grass toward the thick jungle about a mile away. Our guides were three cannibals, young stalwarts of the village, who spoke a dialect with which John Morrison was only slightly familiar. They were armed, each with a sharp knife about eighteen inches long. They were genial fellows; but their teeth were filed down to sharp points, and when they smiled, the dental display reminded one of the edges of a buzz saw.

We came at length to the jungle and descended a steep slope right into the thick of the undergrowth. The tangle was so dense that one had to stay within two or three feet of the man immediately ahead or lose him in the vines and bushes. Overhead the huge trees had closed in completely, and it was almost dark down where we were groping through the tropical growth on the ground. At the very bot-

tom of the slope, where the jungle was thickest, we came to a small stream completely overgrown by bushes and trees. John Morrison handed our gun to one of the men to hold for us while we made our way across the little branch. There we were, in the middle of the forest, with three cannibal guides who at the moment were armed with their own three wicked-looking knives, and our one loaded shotgun as well. Altogether it was a delightful situation! I found myself wondering why I had come to Africa anyway. It seemed to me that one of the cannibals glanced at me now and then with a sort of appraising look, much as one would examine a turkey on the day before Thanksgiving. I found comfort in the report that these men really prefer dark meat to white, the white being rather too salty for their taste.

The monkeys outwitted us that day. While we could hear them chattering in the trees, they were always too wary to allow us to get within sight.

When we got back to the village at five o'clock, a dance of the weirdest and wildest sort was in full swing. The whole village was at it—men, women, and children—all virtually naked, playing and singing and shaking in a veritable orgy of rhythmic abandon. It was lewd in the extreme, and not a little embarrassing in that the whole thing was being done in our honor! After a few moments we were able to excuse ourselves on the pretext of having something else to do. But the significant thing is that I wrote in my diary that night:

> "I preached tonight to the people of Turume on the love of God and the plan of Salvation."

Even the old chief attended that service.

*4. I saw a man suffering.*

Along with the spiritual ills of heathenism one finds also in the Kasai a heart-burdening weight of physical misery and suffering. Victims of ignorance, superstition, malpractice, and undernourishment, the people fall easy prey to the ravages of disease. Prevalent

in the Congo are malaria, intestinal parasites, pneumonia, dysentery, hematuric fever, venereal troubles, leprosy, yaws, and sleeping sickness. Infant mortality is fantastically high.[3] The situation is aggravated by the fact that little is known of sanitation, quarantine, immunization, or any of the other methods of preventive medicine. Lepers, for example, are permitted to roam at random through the country. There are no laws that require their segregation. A leprous man may marry as many wives as he pleases.[4]

Any Mission clinic affords a scene of indescribable misery and pain. One morning at Mboi I watched Mrs. W. J. Anderson in her kindly and gentle ministry to the most pitiable group of people I have ever seen—small, scrawny, undernourished, filthy, naked, listless and sick. There were children bloated with parasites, old women suffering from malaria and rheumatism, an epileptic who had incurred awful burns when he fell into the fire, a boy with a terrible eye infection—a company of people from whose faces the light of hope had almost gone. Yet there were others who, having come before, knew something of the comfort and relief that tender hearts and competent hands could give. Gratitude and trust were in their faces; hope and expectation were beginning to live again.

Our five hospitals, located in the major stations, are doing a prodigious work. Last year they treated 111,294 cases. They are oases of hope and life in the midst of the desert of human misery all around. Thousands have come to these centers not only for bodily renewal but to find here, through the work and witness of our doctors and nurses, a new life of the spirit which has brought them freedom from their sore affliction of superstition and fear and sin. The influence of our hospitals as agencies of evangelization must not be minimized. Along with the significant humanitarian work that they do, they have frequently been responsible for the first entrance of the Gospel into hitherto unreached communities, as some sufferer has returned to his village with new strength in his body and a new song in his heart.

Particularly notable has been the contribution of our medical work toward the control of sleeping sickness and the care of lepers. Each major station has a leper colony, usually separated from the central compound by a distance of several miles. This work, ministering as it does to the needs of more than a thousand lepers, has won frequent commendation from the colonial government.

No need confronting our Africa Mission today is more acute than that of supplying a larger corps of doctors for its medical program. At the present moment there are only five physicians, and the return of even one of these to the United States on furlough leaves his hospital without adequate medical supervision. Moreover, the number of hospitals and clinics ought to be increased, as our present facilities enable us to reach only a small part of the misery and wretchedness that surround our stations in the Kasai. To be sure, the colonial government is doing a splendid work through the establishment of hospitals at many of its state posts, and the Catholic Church, too, has a medical work of its own; but when all of these are combined, they fall far short of answering the need of the Kasai people for enlightened medical help. Our Mission is sounding an urgent call for four new doctors and several nurses to reinforce our medical personnel and enlarge the Christlike arm of our service in the Congo.

*5. I heard a man singing.*

It was Christmas at Bibanga. I had rather dreaded the day, feeling that thoughts of home and loved ones far away might make it for me a time more of wistfulness than of rejoicing. So it might have been, but for the many things that happened to spread Christmas cheer and to transform the day into a season rich in memory and experience. There was the Christmas tree around which all the members of the station gathered in the early morning, the little tokens of affection and remembrance that gladdened the heart, and the feast of good things that was spread on the long table where we sat together in warm and delightful fellowship.

But the high moment of that Christmas came in the middle of the morning when the whole Bibanga community, natives and missionaries together, more than a thousand in all, assembled in the church to celebrate in pageantry and song the glad occasion of our Saviour's birth. I was not prepared for the climactic thing that happened. One hundred and twenty black boys and girls arranged themselves in a compact group on the platform and, without announcement, broke into the glorious strains of the Hallelujah Chorus from the Messiah. I sat amazed and transfixed. Never had I heard that Chorus sung with such transcendent effect—no, not by any choir in the United States or elsewhere in the whole world. The voices were strong and clear. The harmony was perfect, without a jarring note. The sense of time and rhythm was exact. The intricate part of the difficult oratorio, where the repeated "hallelujahs" are successively woven together by the various voices, was executed without the slightest difficulty or uneasiness. And as the anthem moved to its great height at the end, the "hallelujahs" rang from the rafters of the building and floated out through the doors and windows to the whole earth around. I was moved to the very depths of my soul. The boys and girls of Bibanga had sung their Christian message to the world, and my heart overflowed with the joy of Yuletide.

It was my privilege later that day to meet the young man who directed that wonderful choir. He was Miss Virginia Allen's table boy, and she told me his story. It seems that she had a record of the Hallelujah Chorus which she often played on the Victrola. This boy would listen to it through the door until he had practically committed the whole anthem to memory. When Miss Allen returned to the United States on one of her furloughs, the boy asked her to see if she could procure for him a copy of the Chorus so that he might learn it and teach it to his choir. She was able to obtain the full score with words in French, and she brought this copy back with her on her return to the station. The African lad reproduced it page by page on great sheets of brown wrapping paper and tacked these on the wall, teaching his boys and girls line by line until the work was

complete. I shall never forget that day when African voices lifted their paean of praise to Christ the Saviour and King.

The love of music, so characteristic of the African, is conspicuous in all of the services of the Church. There is no part of the worship in which the Kasai people join with greater zest and heart than in the singing of the familiar hymns of our faith. When that great company gathers around the Throne of God from the North and the East and the South and the West, there will be an army of black people from the land of the Kasai to join the Heavenly Host; and when they come, I believe they will come singing.

### Africa's New Call to the Christian World

1. There is a new interest in Africa. Never again can we be as unconcerned about that continent as once we were. For during the long months of the great war, Africa intruded herself by day and by night into our hopes and fears, our dreams and prayers. We came to know her mountains and her lakes, her rivers and her scorching sands, the contours of her coast, her cities and her plains. What will ever erase from our minds the remembrance of El Alamein, Tobruk, Bengasi, Tripoli, Algiers, Casablanca, Oran, Dakar, Monrovia, Accra, Fisherman's Lake, Lagos, Brazzaville, Leopoldville, Port Elizabeth, and Lorenco Marques? And there are other spots in Africa, unnamed but never to be forgotten, forever sacred to America as the resting places of her sons who fought in the struggle for freedom. Is it too much to hope that this new interest in Africa may manifest itself in a new concern for her people, that upon them may shine the glorious light of God our Father in the face of Jesus Christ His Son?

2. Africa offers a new accessibility. The continent has been brought to our very door. The journey from the United States to the Belgian Congo, which normally required a minimum of four to five weeks in prewar times, can now be made in three days. On the continent itself, new railroads have been built, highways have been laid, air routes traverse the length and breadth of the land. The important

position that Africa occupies in global strategy and trade has been recognized, and she has suddenly discovered herself to be at the very crossroads of the world.

3. We confront an awakened and inquiring Africa. It is not surprising that the war has raised new questions in the African mind. We can appreciate the point of view of the former cannibal who, after witnessing one of the white man's battles, expressed the feeling that Caucasians had made rather too much of the evils of cannibalism in view of the wholesale way they went at the job of butchering each other. After all, how could an occasional celebration, with human meat as the *pièce de resistance,* be compared with the ruthless slaughter of tens of thousands of one's fellow men and the commitment of the whole resources of many nations to the supplying of the material instruments of warfare and carnage? Nor should we be surprised if the African native, called upon as he was to fight the white man's war when he himself was ignorant even of the elementary issues involved, should at least raise the question as to why he found himself in such a position. We are therefore prepared for the reactions expressed by returning soldiers of the Congo who have exclaimed:

> "They expect us to come back and be the same. They don't realize that we have killed white men, we have taken them prisoners, we have associated with white women, we have served under yellow and black leaders. We have lived in a new world."[5]

Here are the germs of great and new problems that may confront us in the years ahead.

Not all of the experiences of the war have been unhappy in their effect on the African mind. A chaplain who served in Palestine has testified to the fact that native soldiers from the Congo were greatly impressed by their visits to the Holy Land. He told how one soldier, deeply convicted of sin, burst into tears in the Garden of Gethsemane as the reality of Christ and His sufferings came to him afresh. Many of these soldiers are settled again in the villages of the Congo. They have seen the world, and their awakened minds need the careful guid-

ance and leadership that will turn them toward the things of Christ.

4. Africa is being rapidly industrialized. Thousands of natives are today engaged as the white man's aides in great industrial projects, in mining, the collecting of wild rubber, the cultivation of cotton and other essential crops. Native Africans are operating the complex machines of modern industry, men whose fathers had come out of the forest without knowing even the use of a wheel. Great industrial communities have grown up. Thousands of men have flocked to these centers, leaving their families behind them. The patterns of home life have been broken. Strange and new temptations are being encountered. The lure of urban centers with their opportunities for material advancement proves an enticement to the youth of the country. The native teachers in our Mission schools, because of their ability and the high standard of their training, are especially sought after by the commercial companies, and they find it difficult to resist the lucrative offers that they receive from these business concerns.

While recognizing the peculiar problems thus incident to the industrialization of Africa, we must remember that in sending godly young men into these commercial centers we are providing a Christian impact at vital points of influence in African life. Perhaps there is no better way by which our missionary aim could be accomplished.

5. It is likely that the Africa of the future will enjoy a greater degree of self-determination. This will come through the gradual development among the people themselves of the capacity for political self-government, and through the growth of sentiment in the world favoring self-determination for a people as soon as they are able to exercise it wisely. On the other side will be the reluctance of the governing nations to surrender the prestige and the revenues that their colonies afford them, skepticism concerning the readiness of these dependencies for effective self-government, and fear lest as independent political entities the erstwhile colonies should come under the influence or dominance of some other power.

6. There is one respect in which the Africa of today is not ma-

terially different from the Africa we have known. It is still a heathen Africa. Upon its people still rests the blight of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and sin. They are still ridden by all the evils of an unregenerate society—polygamy, child marriage, the degradation of woman, and widespread immorality. It is still an Africa that needs the Gospel of Jesus Christ as its one hope of personal and social redemption.

Here let us pose a question. Can the Christian Church afford to stand by and witness the development in Africa of a highly complex material civilization on the inadequate spiritual basis of primitive heathenism and witchcraft? Unless her spiritual growth can keep pace with her secular development, this continent of simple, child-like people may one day become a danger and a menace to the whole world. Here is the great challenge of Africa to the Church today, second only to the basic Christian urge to proclaim the offer of salvation to all men. Africa is emerging into the life of the world with a new self-consciousness. Will she play her part as a handmaid of righteousness, moved by the impulses of the Gospel, devoted to Christ and to the Kingdom; or will she learn the arts and devices of human wisdom and employ them in the world with only such conscience as is afforded by a reprobate heathenism? The Church must act quickly. There is no time to lose. The transformation of Africa is coming with a speed and momentum that are almost unbelievable.

Our Congo Mission is not unmindful of the strategic meaning of the present moment. It has devoted months to an exhaustive survey of the whole work with a view to meeting the call of the new Africa. A comprehensive plan for the next ten years has been drawn: a plan that calls for scores of new missionaries, ministers, doctors, teachers, nurses, business men, industrial workers, agriculturists, stenographers, and others; a plan that envisions the radical enlargement and development of our whole work, evangelistic, educational, medical, and social; a plan whose execution will require an outlay of more than $900,000 in buildings, equipment, and installations, as well as a substantial increase in annual support.

Now is the time. The field is ripe. The Mission is ready. Young life is offering itself. The responsibility rests with the Church.

The show place of Accra is old Christiansborg Castle, built by the Danes, then occupied successively by the Dutch and the British, and now the official residence of the Governor General of the Gold Coast. Standing high on a rocky crag at the foot of which the waves are breaking in a thunderous roar, and commanding an unobstructed sweep of the sea, it is a magnificent and beautiful old fortress in which one can read much of the history of early European colonization in Africa. Guards in brilliant uniform stand at the gates. Gorgeous flowers are in bloom around the walls and in the extensive gardens near by. Servants, dressed immaculately in white, with gay-colored sashes, pass silently to and fro. The massive outside walls are ten feet thick, with openings here and there that once were emplacements for the cannon that guarded any approach from the sea. And underneath all this grandeur and pomp is the dark labyrinth of tunnels and dungeons where the slaves were kept long years ago, awaiting the coming of the ships that would carry them to faraway shores. What contrasts the castle held in these old walls! The regal splendor of the colonists above—the heartache, suffering, and bondage in the dark passages below! Here is a symbol of Africa, long dominated by the white man and exploited by him for his own enrichment, while the African paid in blood and toil and tears.

But a new conscience is astir among the Christian peoples of the world, and a new chapter will be written in the history of that great continent that has lain dark for so long. The old motives of exploitation are giving way to the impulses of missions and of mercy. O Africa, how you have suffered! How deep the wounds that thoughtlessness and selfishness have inflicted! But a better day is coming to you, Africa. If once we came to hurt, we are coming now to heal and to help. If once we shackled you with chains, we are coming now to offer you the best we have—Christ, the Great Liberator from bondage and fear and sin.

# CONCLUSION

Such is the soul-stirring narrative of this work upon which God's blessing has so unmistakably rested.

We come to the end of this survey with several very definite conclusions:

1. Our Foreign Mission work has been fruitful and productive beyond the fondest hopes of our early pioneers. Eighty-five years is but a fleeting moment in the long span of history. There are people living today who have seen the whole development of our Mission enterprise from its beginning until now. An unbelievable transformation has taken place during these short years. Where Christ was absolutely unknown a half-century ago, there now stand strong native churches with their sessions, presbyteries, synods, and General Assemblies. The outstanding result of our effort in practically every land has been the establishment of an indigenous Church, numbering thousands of members, no longer dependent upon missionary funds, fully self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. The unbroken darkness which confronted our missionaries eighty-five years ago is today punctuated by a thousand points of light, as the Gospel has set the lamps aglow all around the world. Across vast stretches of great continents where Christ was absolutely unknown, there extend today groups of congregations whose songs ascend to our Saviour's throne in an ever-swelling chorus of praise. Kings and rulers have acknowledged the Lordship of the Christ. Christianity is no longer regarded as a foreign religion, but has been accepted as their very own by thousands who have believed on Him who gave His life a ransom for the whole race. It is probably no exaggeration to say that these years have witnessed the most significant expansion of Christianity into the world since the first century of the Christian

era. Eighty-five years ago evangelical Christianity was practically unknown in the Congo, in Brazil, in China, Japan, Korea, and Mexico. Today the Church is a powerful factor in the life of every one of these countries, and wields an influence of which its minority position gives no adequate indication.

2. The work is far from finished. A splendid beginning has been made, but it must continue to be regarded as only a beginning. No work of our Church is so far from the point of saturation as is Foreign Missions. Vast areas remain where the work must be finished; even greater areas there are where the work must still be begun. Despite the amazing success of the missionary enterprise, the time is not here when we can abandon the young churches to their own resources. They are absolutely insufficient as yet for the stupendous task of reaching the unevangelized millions of their own people. At their present stage of development they are barely able to maintain themselves, and the assistance of the churches of the West in men and money is sorely needed to help these emerging churches meet the overwhelming responsibilities by which they are surrounded. It is estimated that on an average only one person out of a hundred is a Christian in China. Indeed, we are at a critical moment in the history of the missionary enterprise, when, having broken the ground, we are in line for a great harvest if we continue to labor in hope, but where a large measure of the yield can be lost, and past toil left unrepaid, if we tire in our diligence in this task.

3. There is need for an immediate reinforcement of our work. No enterprise of our Church is so inadequately provided for. It is estimated that the total population of our Southern States is about 40,000,000. Of this number, recognizing the other denominations that share our territory with us, the responsibility of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., could hardly be estimated at more than 10,000,000. In our foreign fields, on the other hand, our Church has assumed definite responsibility for the evangelization of 36,000,000 people. This is our sole and exclusive obligation, unshared by any other Church, the other denominations having their own separate areas

of work. And yet, last year our Church spent $16.00 on the 10,000,000 at home for every $1.00 that she spent on the 36,000,000 abroad. On the basis, not of fantastic estimates but of urgent and realistic calls from the field, our Church should be looking forward to a force of 750 missionaries and a budget of $3,000,000 a year for Foreign Missions as soon as possible.

It must be borne in mind that Foreign Missions includes all the causes. Under this one broad name our overseas work comprehends those varied Christian activities and services that are described by such words as Evangelism, Stewardship, Christian Education, Schools and Colleges, Seminaries and Training Schools, Ministerial Relief, Orphans' Homes, Defense Service, Sunday School Extension, Outposts, Chapels, Vacation Schools, Publication, Church Papers, Hospitals, Social Service, Woman's Work, Men's Work, Young People's Work, and the like.

Foreign Missions is not one cause. It is a multiple work, including within its scope every branch of Christian service essential to the development of the Christian community abroad. It is the Church sharing her whole life with a world in need.

4. For this much-needed and eagerly awaited expansion in our Foreign Mission work, the young life of our Church stands ready. We need to be perfectly honest with ourselves at this point. The Foreign Mission enterprise does not lag for the lack of volunteers. There is a stirring just now among the young people of our Church, a new manifestation of missionary interest and dedication. We need only to sound the call, and scores of voices will answer from the ends of the Church. Some come imploring, asking nothing more than that they be given an opportunity to fulfill what they believe to be their God-given call to service in mission fields abroad. What will the Church say to the more than a thousand youth, in various stages of preparation in our colleges and seminaries, who have expressed their purpose to give their lives in missionary service?

If they are denied the opportunity that they seek it will be simply because we have not matched in gifts and sacrifice their love of the

Saviour that prompts them to offer their lives in His service. It is a serious thing to frustrate these holy aspirations of our youth; distressing, too, to disappoint the fast-aging groups of workers on the field who plead for help and reinforcement; tragic to deny millions their right to know the Saviour; and shameful to fail our Lord in the task He asked us to do.

The sending of 170 new missionaries would merely bring us abreast again with the Foreign Mission force that was ours in 1926. We need not merely to overtake this deficit in personnel, but to carry on beyond previous standards to something more nearly commensurate with the dimensions of the task that we have assumed.

5. Our whole missionary effort is handicapped and retarded today by the lack of adequate support. Strangely enough, it is the one thing that we have within our power to provide. Only God can open the hearts of men. Only He can raise up and call out the messengers. All these He has done. One thing is lacking, and this He has left to us. It is within our power to make the sacrifices that are needed for an adequate support of the work. This is not a matter of prayer, vitally necessary as that is. It is fundamentally a simple question of our willingness to pay the cost.

Let our Stewardship Committees keep this in remembrance as they determine the use of the Church's resources. Let them bear in mind, when they are tempted to give priority to emergency needs, that there is no emergency more urgent than the cry of the Christless millions who are facing eternity without hope. This is the need that justified the Shepherd in leaving the ninety and nine sheep and seeking the one which was lost.

Let boards of deacons and finance committees remember this cause as they guide the giving of their people.

Let pastors foster within their congregations a mission-mindedness that will prove an antidote to selfishness and broaden the reach of their liberality.

Let Missions be included in the family budgets of our Presbyterian homes.

Let men of means consider the claims of this enterprise upon their bank accounts.

Let every individual Christian, whatever his station, experience the joy of partnership with Christ in this work which He lifted to the place of first priority in His program for the world.

And let the whole Church pray for a new outpouring of God's Spirit upon the task we have undertaken in His name among the peoples of the earth.

The war is over. The long-awaited day of opportunity is here. Now is the time. If our response to the challenge of this new day is not to be a mockery, we must call ourselves once more to the remembrance of our chief business so forcefully stated in the declaration of 1861. Let this become anew the "one thing I do" of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This is a summons to our whole communion to unfurl that banner once more before the eyes of the world, and to march again beneath its emblazoned inscription, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

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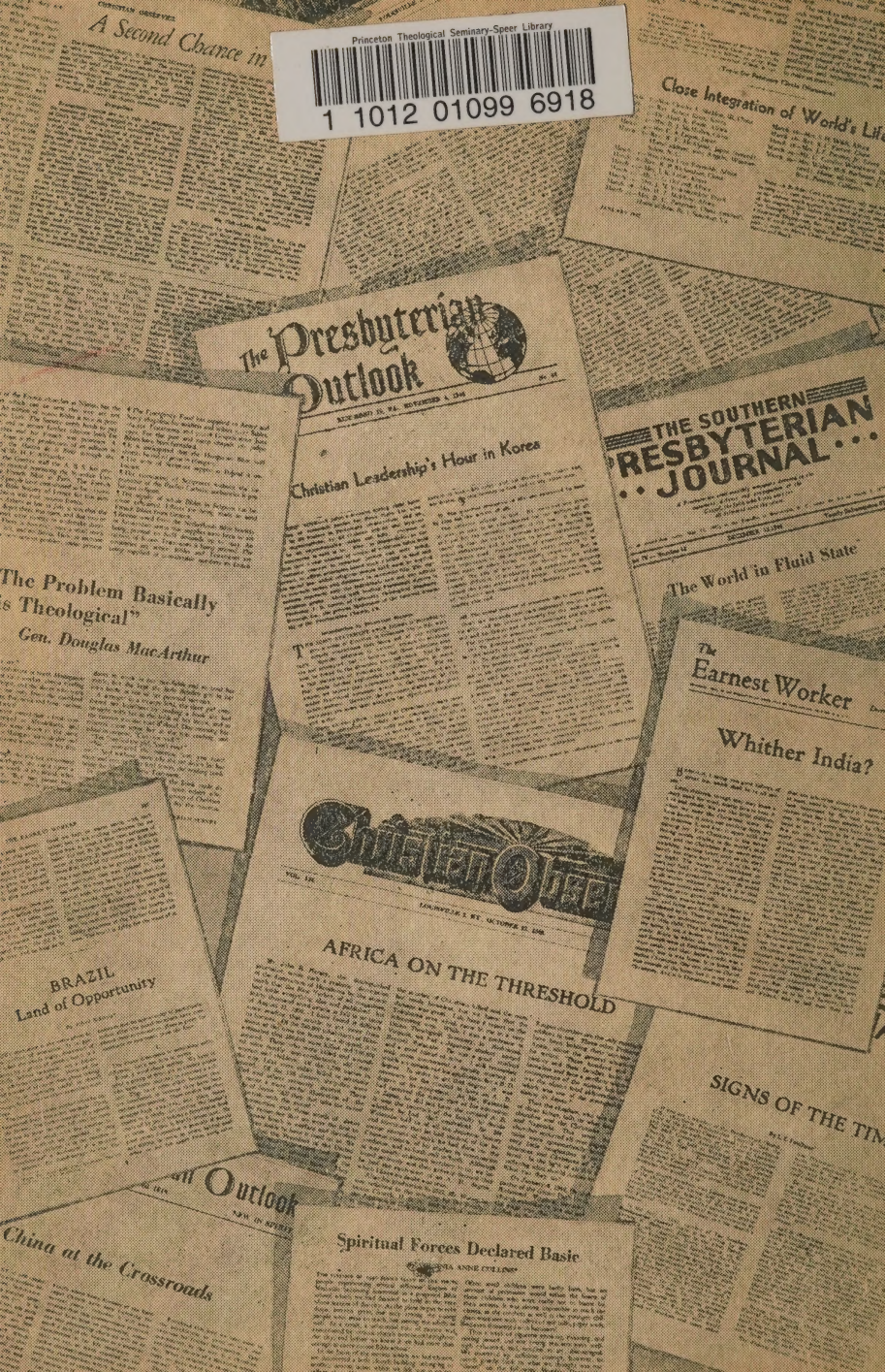
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